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The Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study;
Implications for contemporary
criminological and political discourse on
Community and Crime

Alison M. Brown

PhD - University of Edinburgh - 2004



Thesis Declaration

I, Alison M. Brown, declare that this thesis is my own work and that I have not submitted this material for any other degree or qualification,

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Abstract

The recent use in criminological and political discourse of concepts such as ‘social capital’, ‘collective efficacy’, ‘trust’ and ‘community’ is problematic. As well as their definitional and operational difficulties, they may not be politically neutral. The inadequacy of these concepts is in part connected with the lack of a systematic approach to the measurement of community dynamics and processes. These current theoretical frameworks desperately require critical assessment.

A central concern of the Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study, situated within the Edinburgh Study on Youth Transitions and Crime, is to develop a set of measurements that through systematic application will allow community dynamics to be better understood. The Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study has used a large-scale survey administered across Edinburgh and a case study of three neighbourhoods, in order to explore the key theoretical concepts within contemporary discourse on neighbourhood and crime. This has shown that concepts traditionally regarded as desirable, such as internal networks, may have mixed implications for crime and the neighbourhood. This thesis puts forward a model of neighbourhood dynamics, in the form of three dimensions of neighbourhood, and their relationships to social and economic deprivation, including structural resources, and also to crime and disorder.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

A new language of 'community' has come to the fore, encompassing a set of ideas which includes communitarianism, 'social capital', community involvement, civil society, empowerment and civic engagement [...] Can communities, social capital and civil society achieve what states and markets have failed to do? (Taylor 2002:85,87).

Recent policy debate in regeneration and crime in the UK and Scotland has focussed upon reclaiming notions of 'community' and 'citizenship'. Within this discourse crime is viewed as, 'a compelling symbol of lost community' (Crawford 1994), present where communities have disintegrated, and contributing further to their disintegration (Young and Matthews 1992). There seems to be an assumption, tenable throughout policy on crime and regeneration, that 'more community equals less crime' (Crawford 1994:243). These appeals to community suggest that, like an aerosol can, community can 'be sprayed onto any social programme, giving it a more progressive and sympathetic cachet' (Cochrane 1986:51). Community has become important for two reasons, firstly, as the site of increasing problems of crime and disorder, and secondly, as the potential solution to these same problems.

Accordingly community or neighbourhood is now the place where crime control must take place, having 're-emerged as an important setting for many of the processes which supposedly shape local identity and life chances' (Forrest and Kearns 2001:2125; Kearns and Forrest 2000:1010). This approach is in part a response to the increasing polarisation, economically and spatially, between the rich and the poor, where 'geographic polarisation of poverty is both a key cause and symptom of social exclusion' (Wallace 2001:2163-4). Atkinson notes,

UK policy is built around the importance of community processes. Reflecting the communitarianism of the Third Way, communities are to be reactivated as locales of social control through forms of self policing in which active citizens and communities become increasingly responsible for the governance of local crime (Johnstone 2000). Much of the policy discourse identifies a particular concern about the breakdown of social control in deprived urban neighbourhoods, characterised as having less adequate or impaired levels of informal social control, due to an increasing spatial

concentration of social disorganisation and requiring policy interventions such as neighbourhood wardens and anti-social behaviour orders (Atkinson 2003).

This thesis explores the importance of these ‘community processes’ which are increasingly being incorporated into policy. The first section of this introductory chapter looks at how these ideas have emerged and are identifiable in government policy, both in the UK, as a whole and in Scotland specifically. The concept of social capital is then introduced followed by an outline of the objectives of the thesis and an overview of the method and argument. This chapter concludes with a brief outline of the thesis structure.

A. Policy background

1. United Kingdom

Many of the appeals to community can be found in regeneration policy. Atkinson and Flint argue that the recent raft of regeneration documentation signifies an acknowledgement of past policy failure. The emphasis has been switched, making ‘residents [...] the sticking point not having done enough to be engaged or committed enough in partnership to achieve living conditions considered to be normal’ (Atkinson and Flint 2003:6). This emphasis on shared responsibility is seen in the following Home Office document,

Local people must be encouraged to win back their communities and be supported by local and central government to do so [...] Anti-social behaviour is a problem experienced at the local level and therefore requires action locally... it is vital that the right people have the power, the authority and the support to tackle anti-social behaviour (Home Office 2003:65, 51).

This excerpt refers to the recent development of neighbourhood wardens. Another example of this increasing reliance on and expectation of individuals to intervene in instances of criminal and disorderly behaviour is the recently developed annual awards for Community Crime Fighters, where ‘each of the winners are excellent examples of people helping themselves to make their communities safer places to live and work’ (Home Office ref 216-2003). This follows upon a string of

developments at the neighbourhood level allowing local people and local agencies greater power over anti social behaviour, ie. Anti Social Behaviour Orders and Curfew Orders contained within the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the statutory duty to develop and implement inter-agency crime strategies at a neighbourhood level.

The Social Exclusion Unit's consultation report for a National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (April 2000) listed a number of important aspects, among which were provision of better community facilities, reducing crime and anti-social behaviour, tackling problems of neglect and abandoned housing and rebuilding community support. The Report concentrates on the most deprived neighbourhoods. Parkes et al. argue that,

Implicit in the Strategy's focus on 'worst' or 'scarred' neighbourhoods is the idea that for those in deprived areas, the neighbourhood is likely to be a more dominant aspect of life than in more affluent areas, where residents with more resources can look beyond their immediate surroundings for services and social life (Parkes et al 2002:2).

This seems to further reinforce the notion that 'community' and 'social capital' are more important for deprived neighbourhoods and, by concentrating on increasing stocks of these, allows policy to evade questions of access to resources.

These latest developments in regeneration revolve around notions of Neighbourhood Renewal and Community Cohesion (The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal – SEU 2001, The Cantle Report 2002 and Social Inclusion Partnership – Scottish Executive 2000). Whereas the English approach focuses on rooting out exclusion, the Scottish is concerned with injustice¹, although both approaches focus on renewal (Goodlad 2002:71). These advances are backed by government commitments to involve a range of relevant agencies, with a Community Empowerment Fund set up in 2001 with a sum of £88 million to spend on the 88 most deprived areas in Britain over the following three years.

¹ Explicit appeals to the development of social capital can be seen in the Scottish Regeneration Plan, where a key aim is,

To make sure that individuals and community have the social capital – the skills, confidence, networks and resources – to take advantage of and increase the opportunities open to them (Scottish Executive Regeneration Statement, Implementation Plan 2002:3).

2. Scotland

In 1999 the Scottish Office published 'A Safer Scotland', the government's strategy for tackling crime and its causes. Focussed on building safer communities, it acknowledged that 'public safety is of paramount concern and that everyone should feel safe in their communities and their own home' (1999). More recently in 'Better Communities in Scotland' (2002) the importance of building communities was reinforced, with an emphasis placed on social capital. This document promised,

We will work to make sure people and communities have the social capital – the skills, confidence, support networks and resources – that they need to take advantage of, and to increase, the opportunities open to them. To do this, we need to build the confidence of our communities to do more for themselves and to ask for the services they need, develop systems that get people involved and let them have a say in their communities, and provide support and advice to individuals (2002:3).

These developments reflect the increasing emphasis placed on the importance of community; not only on building 'Strong, Safe, and Attractive Communities' (Scottish Executive March 2003), but also on their role within policies on regeneration and crime and antisocial behaviour. The Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003 places a statutory duty on the local authority to prepare (with the Chief Constable) an anti social strategy. Along with the introduction of Community Warden Schemes (30 million over two years from 2003/5) and £4million annual funding over three years to support Community Safety Partnerships is evidence of the perceived centrality of 'community' within Scottish policy. The most recent consultation paper, 'Putting our Communities First' (2003) again looks to the community as being the place where people live, face anti-social problems, and can deal with anti-social problems. Detailing a broad range of measures, from increased police powers, to Anti-Social Behaviour Orders that are faster and further reaching, the central aim is making communities safer and better places to live. These various interventions are designed to place communities at the centre of the anti-social issue, as both the site and the solution,

Communities are in the front line. They live with the symptoms and the consequences of anti-social behaviour everyday. Communities must be fully involved in the solutions (Scottish Executive 2003:2).

Social capital has become entangled within the regeneration policy and language both in Scotland and the UK, as Kearns and Forrest observe,

Regeneration strategies have increasingly come to be seen as working with and building on the stock of social capital in a neighbourhood. A key implication is that without sufficient social capital, regeneration policies will not take root or be sustainable. Neighbourhoods where existing relations of trust and reciprocity are weak will lack the qualities which can create and sustain voluntary association and partnership (Kearns and Forrest 2000:1010).

Despite the evidently widespread appeal of social capital to policy makers, its usage has received little critical scrutiny. It has generally been assumed to be an unmitigated good, and although academics have increasingly drawn attention to the ‘downside’ of using the concept of social capital carelessly (see Fine 2000 and Portes and Landholt 1996), the policy makers seem far less aware of the possible negative outcomes of using the concept indiscriminately. Withstanding occasional suggestions that some social capital may result in neighbourhoods becoming introverted (see Blunkett 2002), on the whole the concept is regarded as overwhelmingly positive. The thesis will deal in detail with the concept of social capital, to which the next section offers a brief introduction.

B. Introduction to social capital

It is argued by policy makers that declining stocks of social capital result in increased levels of crime and disorder due to a decrease in networks of trust and shared norms that used to prevent and control such behaviour in the past. For the Home Secretary, social capital is inhibited by crime but is also the solution to crime,

Security and order are also the first building blocks of social capital, order generates trust, in turn those who trust others are more likely to participate in community organisations.

Without a sense of security, people find it harder to work with others, they are scared to go out on the streets. They are fearful of talking to others (Blunkett 2002).

The policy makers understanding of social capital is significantly more limited than the academic view point.

Social capital theory originated in 1916, with the work of Hanifan, who described it as, ‘those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people’ (Hanifan 1916:130). Later important contributions were made by Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and more recently Putnam (1993, 1995, 2001). Putnam defines social capital as follows:

Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called “civic virtue.” The difference is that “social capital” calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital. (Putnam 2001: 19)

Putnam argues that a decline in the stocks of social capital has caused people to stop trusting and volunteering, resulting in the breakdown of communities and therefore of society. If the stocks of social capital increased, then we would witness a return to a more active citizenship, one of the results of which would be a decrease in levels of crime and disorder, due to the increase in trust, networks and therefore informal social control.

C. Aims and Objectives

This thesis has several objectives. It aims to:

- a) critically evaluate the theories of social capital and collective efficacy
- b) develop an operational definition of social capital and use this to specify detailed measures that can be used in a survey of residents within Edinburgh
- c) by applying these measures in a survey of residents, contribute to the development of an ‘ecometrics’
- d) distil broader measures of neighbourhood dynamics from analysis of the survey of residents
- e) conduct a more open and flexible study of neighbourhood dynamics in selected areas to gain a deeper understanding of underlying processes
- f) in these ways provide a sounder basis for future research (eg within the Edinburgh Study on Youth Transitions and Crime) on the influence of neighbourhood dynamics on crime and disorder

- g) consider the implications of results so far (i) for social capital theory and (ii) for policy on neighbourhood regeneration and crime prevention.

D. Overview of method

1. Outline

The thesis is concerned with developing a set of measures (an 'ecometrics') to enable the systematic measurement of neighbourhood dynamics in order to better understand how social capital exists at the neighbourhood level in different forms and how those stocks affect one another. In order to achieve this it is crucial to use a mixed methodological approach. In concordance with Forrest and Kearns, it is necessary,

to have a sensitivity to the different forms of social capital. From a policy perspective it is also necessary to break down the concept of social capital into its constituent domains in order to move from abstraction to implementation and to a set of measures which can be monitored and (where appropriate) qualified (Forrest and Kearns 2000:14-5).

The Neighbourhood Study, located within the Edinburgh Study on Youth Transitions and Crime, is particularly well suited to be able to do this.

2. The Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime

The Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime is a longitudinal study, involving approximately 4,300 young people who commenced their secondary education in the city of Edinburgh, in 1998. The first longitudinal survey of its size in the United Kingdom to look at crime, including both males and females, it is well placed to look at a range of issues.

The study aims to further our understanding of criminal offending in young people by studying it in three contexts: the physical and social structure of neighbourhoods, the individual's development through the life course, and interactions with the official apparatus of social work and law enforcement. It is assumed that the domains interact: for example, particular styles of parenting are sustained or subverted by the practices and norms prevailing in the neighbourhood (Smith and McVie 2003:169).

The Edinburgh Youth Study draws on a range of data,

Including police recorded crime statistics, census data, Ordnance Survey data, and a range of data from the City of Edinburgh Council. Geo-coded

home address postcode data for each member of the cohort will allow all of the information about individuals to be analysed in the light of the description of the neighbourhoods where they live (Smith and McVie 2003:183).

The benefits of being part of such a study are wide ranging, including access to these various data sources, the use of Geographic Information Systems and the division of Edinburgh into 91 discrete neighbourhoods, resulting from extensive research.

This thesis results from the explicit aim of seeking to understand the physical and social structure of the neighbourhoods used within the study. As such, it has concentrated on developing a series of instruments, an 'ecometrics', which, when used together, produce a comprehensive picture of the neighbourhood in question. Several different methods have been used in the development of this ecometrics, and these will be discussed shortly. This set of measures will be utilised in other aspects of the study in the future to explore further the affect of the neighbourhood on adolescent development and adolescent delinquency.

The Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study has combined qualitative and quantitative methods to produce as complete a picture as possible of neighbourhood dynamics. The Neighbourhood Study involved a questionnaire, administered to over 1,600 Edinburgh households, providing data suitable for statistical analysis. A case study of three neighbourhoods within Edinburgh allowed in-depth qualitative data to be obtained, through observation, participation and interview.

E. Overview of Argument

The use of the concept of social capital within the policy debate has been largely informed by the writings of James Coleman and those of Robert Putnam. This thesis argues that this has led to two wide lacunae in the analysis. First, there has been much justified criticism of the failure to specify a method of measuring social capital. This has been compounded by a diversity of definitions and a tendency to apply the concept indiscriminately to micro and macro levels. Secondly, and more critically for the present thesis, recent policy makers have glossed over the essential linkage between community structures and power hierarchies, leaving a concept

which is neither located in, nor tied to any political or practical context. Social capital cannot be discussed without an awareness of other forms of capital, such as financial capital or human capital.

This thesis argues that these problems can be remedied by using the writings of Bourdieu and combining these ideas with the insights of Coleman and Putnam and drawing on the work of Hope (1995 1996), to produce a more rounded and politically realistic account of social capital. Using this broader, more complete theoretical basis, the concepts of social capital and collective efficacy are able to be operationalised and used in the development of an ecometrics, in a study of neighbourhood dynamics and crime and disorder in Edinburgh. It is argued that social capital operates in a more complex manner than is suggested by the policy makers, with different types of capital, bridging and bonding social capital and financial capital working together in complex interactive processes, suggesting that 'social capital' is not an unmitigated or unqualified good

F. Thesis structure

Chapter 2 begins by looking at the development, use and misuse of social capital and collective efficacy within criminology. It argues that social and political science can fill in some of the theoretical gaps found within the criminological work, drawing on rational choice theory, game theory, trust and network and structural holes theory. This fuller appreciation of social capital and collective efficacy is then drawn upon in chapter 3 in the development of detailed typologies operationalising both concepts. Chapter 3 also includes a discussion of the methodology used in both the Neighbourhood Survey and the case study work. The ground work is laid for the development of an ecometrics.

Chapter 4 discusses the findings from the Neighbourhood Survey where descriptive statistics and correlation matrices are used to explore the relationships between Criterion measures and Neighbourhood measures. Principal Component Analysis is then used to distil these neighbourhood measures into a set of three Neighbourhood

Components. Initial regression analysis suggests that one of the components, Neighbourhood Ownership, is more powerful than either Neighbourhood Organisation or Neighbourhood Networks in predicting crime and disorder. A model is presented which hypothesises that although Neighbourhood Ownership may be the last component in the causal chain, the other components are important at earlier stages and also suggests that Neighbourhood Investment plays a crucial role in contributing towards crime and disorder.

This model is explored within Chapters 5-7, which look at each of the Neighbourhood Components in turn, through analysis of the case study data. A neighbourhood typology is outlined in chapter 5 which places the micro neighbourhoods (which exist within the three larger meta neighbourhoods selected for the case study), on an investment continuum. Chapter 8 then draws together the findings from the empirical work, connecting the thesis to the original aims and objectives as stated in chapter 1, finishing by considering the implications of the results for social capital theory and for policy on neighbourhood regeneration and crime prevention.

CHAPTER 2: A DISCUSSION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK; SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

Introduction

Chapter 1 outlined the increasing centrality of ‘community’ and ‘neighbourhood’ within recent policy. Within this policy there has been a growth in the use of the concept ‘social capital’, which is problematic. It has been argued that ‘social capital offers an open invitation to social theory without intellectual responsibility’ (Fine 2001:99) and,

it now assumes a wide variety of meanings and has been cited in a rapidly increasing number of social, political and economic studies, but – as so often happens with promising new terms in social science – with limited critical attention being given to its conceptual and ontological status (Woolcock 1998:155).

This chapter is concerned with how useful the concept of social capital is in furthering understanding of communities and crime. It argues that social capital has been inadequately theorised within criminology and explores how collective efficacy has been used alongside social capital. The concept of social capital which has emerged has several gaps, it is suggested that through turning to social and political science some of these gaps can be addressed. The development of the term in social and political science is discussed, necessitating looking at the key theorists. However there remain gaps in the theorising even at this level and work on trust, rational choice theory, game theory, networks and norms is examined in order to supplement the work of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. This chapter argues that social capital, when understood fully and supplemented with collective efficacy, can offer a useful theoretical framework from which to better understand neighbourhood and crime.

Social capital, as understood within criminology, including Sampson’s use of collective efficacy, is examined first. Arguing that there are lacunae within this field, social and political science is approached next, commencing with a discussion of the major theorists in social capital, an exposition and critique is offered. The complexity of the social capital components is highlighted and trust (embracing rational choice

theory and game theory), network theory and norms are explored in an attempt achieve greater clarification of social capital theory.

A. The Criminological context

The concept of social capital has been developed by sociologists such as Bourdieu (1979), drawing on a Marxist framework, and Coleman (1988). Interestingly it was first found in criminology in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, a work of environmental criminology, where Jacobs wrote,

If self-government in the place is to work, underlying any float of population must be a continuity of people who have forged neighbourhood networks. These networks are a city's irreplaceable social capital. Whenever the capital is lost, for whatever cause, the income from it disappears, never to return until and unless new capital is slowly and chancily accumulated (Jacobs 1961:138).

The amount of social capital that is invested in a community is claimed to contribute to the maintenance of social order, that is to the prevention of crime (Graycar and Nelson 1999), and subsequently it is of importance to criminologists. Before looking at how social capital is understood by criminologists it is necessary to look at the role 'neighbourhood' and 'community' have played in criminology in the past, in other words, before we look at the new Chicago school we need to look at the old Chicago school.

1. The Old Chicago School

The role of 'communities' has long been identified as important in criminology. The now classic theory of social disorganisation, as expounded by the original Chicago school (Shaw and McKay 1942, Park, Burgess and McKenzie 1967) maintained that a community's crime rate resulted from its ability, or inability to achieve shared values and attain mutual goals. The theory developed from their extensive study of delinquency in Chicago, and several other North American cities. They documented correlations between juvenile delinquency rates, in different areas of the cities, and census data (e.g. poor housing, population density, owner occupation, ethnic composition) and rates of social and health problems (such as truancy, mental disorder, tuberculosis and infant mortality). They found that the rates of juvenile delinquency conformed to a regular spatial pattern, as did other social problems. Moreover, this spatial pattern was maintained despite changes in the population

composition, implying, they believed, that there was a process of becoming delinquent, which involved the family, the gang and the neighbourhood (Finestone 1976). They concluded that,

[...] the fact that in Chicago the rates of delinquents for many years have remained relatively constant in the areas adjacent to centres of commerce and industry, despite successive changes in the nativity and nationality composition of the population, supports emphatically the conclusion that the delinquency – producing factors are inherent in the community (Shaw and McKay 1942:435).

The Chicago school were primarily concerned with determining the conditions under which the conflict between legitimate and delinquent values in society came into existence. They held that low economic status, which in turn was affected by cultural heterogeneity and a high residential turnover, facilitated disorganisation and led to delinquency. Offending then depended not on individual attributes but on characteristics of the neighbourhood. In effect social disorganisation referred to the local institutions inability to control inhabitants behaviour, resulting in crime.

However,

[n]either Shaw and McKay nor any subsequent researcher has been able to demonstrate unambiguously that neighbourhood factors have important influences on offending independently of individual and family factors (Farrington 1993:16).

Social disorganisation came under fire in ‘the classical [ethnographic] study’ (Friedrichs and Ludtke 1975) *Street Corner Society* (Whyte 1943). This study looked at the inter-group and intra-group interactions of street-corner gangs in an Italian slum area of Chicago. Whyte found that despite the community’s high level of crime it was not ‘disorganised’, as Shaw and McKay had suggested, but actually highly organised. Sampson (1988) concurs with this stance, suggesting that it differs in the ends to which it is organised.

While social disorganisation merited significant theoretical examination, there was inadequate data on which it could be rigorously tested empirically. Much of the previous macro-level research into crime had relied on census data, which is severely limited in the utility of variables offered to explain crime and delinquency. While ethnographic work had been useful (Suttles 1972), as a method it is limited to explaining one community, or a small cluster (Reiss 1986:27). Instead of relying on

official crime statistics, as has been done in the past, and the inherent limitations of this data, social disorganisation theory needed to be tested using self-report studies and victimisation surveys (which have evolved since the original exposition of the theory).

Social disorganisation has been utilised in a modern context through its 'systemicisation'. The systemic model views the community as a complex system of friendship and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialisation processes (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974:329). Where stable integrated communities have anomalously high crime rates, the systemic model explains this by reference to lack of public control, through police and social policies, and also lack of informal social controls (Bursik and Grasmick 1993). It seems that a community experiences both horizontal and the vertical relations¹. As Hope explains,

There is a 'horizontal' dimension of social relations among individuals and groups sharing a common residential space. This dimension refers to the often complex expressions of affection, loyalty, reciprocity, or dominance among residents, whether expressed through informal relationships or organised activities. Second, there is a 'vertical' dimension of relations that connect local institutions to sources of power and resources in the wider civil society of which the locality is acknowledged to be a part (Hope 1995:24).

Perhaps it should be emphasised that the vertical dimension is overtly political. A neighbourhoods access to this vertical dimension will determine its access to resources and its general connectedness to the power hierarchy. This presumes that power operates on a hierarchy, with the least powerful at the bottom while power increases as the hierarchy is ascended.

There have been many various theories offered to explain communities and crime, ranging from subcultures to informal social control. It may be worthwhile to outline several of these theories briefly before we turn to look at the work the new Chicago school has produced.

Subcultural theory understands deviancy as a sociological matter where groups, often of youths, form a subculture with different norms and rules. Within such a group,

¹ This vertical/ horizontal differentiation will be revisited when looking at social capital. It is mentioned in the work of Robert Putnam (1993).

deviant behaviour is the norm (Downes 1966, Cloward and Ohlin 1961) and is deviant behaviour which individuals commit to, with their own role models and career structures.

There is also the notion of the community crime career. Bottom and Wiles (1987) argued that systems of housing allocation within the public rental sector have fundamental implications for the amount of criminality within an area. Such mechanism can keep an area 'criminal' by keeping a stable rate of offenders within an area. They note the process by which a 'sink' estate is created and the processes which prevent such an area from improving itself leaving it spiralling into further decline.

Another theoretical perspective which has been used to explain criminality, and areas of criminality is 'social control' theory. Within Hirschi's informal social control theory (1969) there are four elements of a social bond which are essential to socialisation; attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. When these elements are diminished, the bond to society weakens and the propensity to behave criminally is increased. From an ecological perspective there may be communities where these bonds have broken down resulting in increased rates of criminality. A community that is not bonded to conventional institutions like church, education, will clearly have less constraints acting upon it.

The above theories all offer different lenses through which communities and crime may be viewed. This thesis is primarily concerned with ideas stemming from the Chicago School, both old and new.

2. The New Chicago School

Suggesting that Shaw and McKay failed to take account of each neighbourhoods relationships with the external world, especially their political positioning. Bursik and Grasmick (1993) argue that this lacunae can be satisfied by using Kornhauser's reasoning (1978). The use of a systematic model, looking at different levels of neighbourhood networks enable the context of a neighbourhood to be understood.

The systemic theory argues that social control in neighbourhoods operates at the primary level, through informal primary groups, i.e. family; at the parochial level, by local organisations and institutions i.e. schools, churches; and thirdly at the public level, with external agencies who can provide the resources to enable the private and parochial levels of function (Bottoms and Wiles 1997:339). This is not dissimilar to the ideas of bridging and bonding capital and the different levels at which they work best. This will be discussed in more detail in the second latter part of the thesis.

Recent American ethnographies (Patillo 1998; Ventakesh 1997) suggest that disorganisation is no longer the most appropriate way to view community in late modernity. In a three year ethnographic study of a black-middle class neighbourhood 'Groveland', in Chicago, Patillo found that 'dense friendship and kin ties and institutional strength and participation allow for the integration of licit and illicit networks both working toward common goals, but with variant strategies' (Patillo 1998:770). The 'Black Mobsters' (the local criminal gang) and their law-abiding neighbours shared many of the same goals and values for a safe and attractive neighbourhood, but differed in divergent strategies for achieving those goals (Patillo 1998:769).

In recognising that high crime areas can be paradoxically both organised and disorganised, Sampson proposes that the key is to focus on what community provides in modern society, the purpose for which it is organised (1988:2). Sampson introduced, or rather imported the concepts of social capital and collective efficacy and has sought to use them to further understand how neighbourhoods function. Before unpacking these ideas, it may be useful to look at the work in which he has been recently involved.

In work done on the British Crime Survey (Sampson and Groves 1989), several intervening dimensions of social disorganisation were isolated, firstly, the ability of a community to supervise and control teenage peer groups. If a community can control group-level dynamics then it is better equipped to control delinquency. Secondly, the informal local friendship networks. Locally based friendship networks form the core

social fabric of a community (Hunter 1974; Kasarda and Janowitz 1974). These local social ties facilitate more effective informal social control, which can decrease delinquency. Thirdly, the rate of local participation in formal and voluntary organisations. If community structures are utilised, solidarity is increased, and there is a stronger, more unified position from which to defend shared interests. The results of the study revealed clear support for linking Shaw and McKay's theory with Kasarda and Janowitz' 1974 theory of systemic community attachment, and 'demonstrated that social-disorganisation theory has vitality and renewed relevance for explaining macro-level variations in crime rates' (Sampson and Groves 1989:799).

Sampson et al. posited that 'collective efficacy', defined as 'social cohesion among neighbours combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good' is significantly linked to reduced violence and is perhaps the key to understanding communities and crime (Sampson et al 1997:918). Just as individuals differ in their capacity for efficacious action, so too do communities in their capacity to achieve common goals.

In their study of 8782 residents in 343 Chicago neighbourhoods², they hypothesised that while the established relationship of violence with low socio-economic status and increased residential instability is partly explained by the aggregation of individuals, it is also in part explained by 'the differential ability of neighbourhoods to realise the common values of residents and to maintain effective social controls' (Sampson et al 1997:918). Sampson found that three dimensions of neighbourhood strategy explained 70% of the neighbourhood variation in collective efficacy; concentrated disadvantage, immigration concentration and residential stability. They found that 'the combined measure of informal social control and cohesion and trust remained a robust predictor of lower rates of violence' (Sampson et al 1997:922).

² This is part of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighbourhoods (PHDCN), 'while many previous studies have focussed on one aspect or another of antisocial behaviour, this is the first to look at the whole picture – the community, the family, peers and individual characteristics – to offer a comprehensive understanding of human social behaviour and negative – and the environments in which it plays out' (Felton 1997:2).

Collective efficacy, they argued, acted as the mediator of all observed relationships between disadvantage, mobility and crime. It seems that what constitutes collective efficacy for Sampson is an expansion of Coleman's exposition of social capital (Sampson et al 1999). There is however a crucial difference between the two concepts; social capital exists at an undifferentiated resource level, while collective efficacy exists in relation to a specific goal.

For instance social capital exists in a group of fishermen who live in the same community and share information on where the fish are. Although these stocks of social capital may not explicitly be being used to achieve a particular purpose, the fact of its existence will make their lives a little easier. They share knowledge and expertise and their families are bound together by the demands of the work. It is not until fishing quotas are brought into existence within that same community that the community need to act with collective efficacy. Due to the stipulated quota of fish allowed the fishermen need to work together to ensure that the quota is not exceeded but that every one still manages to catch their share of the quota. This situation, adapted from Fukuyama (1995), differs from the former one, where people were working and living within a community of shared practices and norms, as now it is essential to develop a plan in order to achieve the quotas efficiently and fairly. Where the social capital existed at an undifferentiated resource level, the collective efficacy exists in relation to a particular goal or task.

Sampson maintains that the community remains a worthwhile unit of analysis, although they may no longer be as they once were (i.e. 'exclusively a primary group and therefore should possess the 'face-to-face', intimate, affective relations which characterise all primary groups' (Wilson 1975:50)), he suggests that they remain important as the loci of collective intervention in social control. Such social control results from a shared trust and a shared willingness to act. Indeed it is this shared trust and willingness that he defines as collective efficacy. A neighbourhood like any collective can have collective efficacy: 'just as self-efficacy is situated rather than global (one has self-efficacy relative to a particular task), a neighbourhood's

efficacy exists relative to specific tasks such as maintaining public order' (Morenoff et al. 2001:520).

In more recent work, Sampson has included concepts of social disorder to test a theory of structural constraint, in addition to collective efficacy: 'Visual signs of social and physical disorder in public spaces reflect powerfully on our inferences about urban communities' (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999:603)³. He hopes to move toward 'a theory combining structural constraints with local collective efficacy [...] as an alternative to the "broken windows" interpretation of the disorder-crime link' (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999:605).

Broken Windows theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982) supposes that disorders lead to crime, they are part of the causal process. They catalogue the move from a stable residential area to an urban jungle as follows,

A piece of property is abandoned, weeds grow up, a window is smashed. Adults stop scolding rowdy children; the children, emboldened, become more rowdy. Families move out, unattached adults move in. Teenagers gather in front of the corner store. The merchant asks them to move; they refuse. Fights occur. Litter accumulates. People start drinking in front of the grocery; in time, an inebriate slumps to the sidewalk and is allowed to sleep it off. Pedestrians are approached by panhandlers (Wilson and Kelling 1982).

They argue that at this stage crime is not an inevitable result, but it may act as a catalyst for crime; people will begin to feel that crime has increased even though this may not be the case, and will modify their behaviour accordingly. They will stop walking on the streets at night, and will cease to intervene in local problems. The neighbourhood is no longer their 'home', but a place where they feel uncomfortable and afraid. Wilson and Kelling argue that such an area is 'vulnerable to criminal invasion' (1982) as it is clear that informal social controls are not really working. Many people will move away to better, safer neighbourhoods, leaving behind those who cannot move, i.e. the elderly and the vulnerable. This compounds the problem of lacking informal social control, as these are individuals who are unlikely to partake

³ The original Chicago school and thereafter, Jacobs, Newman, and more recently Skogan and Wilson and Kelling have pointed to associations between signs of physical disorder (as Hunter describes 'incivilities', 1985) and crime rates and fear of crime.

in such action themselves. So, for Wilson and Kelling, disorder is likely to lead to crime,

The unchecked panhandler is, in effect, the first broken window. Muggers and robbers, whether opportunistic or professional, believe they reduce their chances of being caught or even identified if they operate on streets where potential victims are already intimidated by prevailing conditions. If the neighborhood cannot keep a bothersome panhandler from annoying passersby, the thief may reason, it is even less likely to call the police to identify a potential mugger or to interfere if the mugging actually takes place (Wilson and Kelling 1982).

Broken Windows therefore advocates a 'zero-tolerance' approach to crime and disorder, with the police ridding the streets of undesirable characters and making disorderly neighbourhoods orderly. Sampson differs from this reasoning in his assertion that disorder is not a cause of crime, but rather it is on the same continuum as crime. He argues that,

Once collective efficacy and other social factors that contribute to crime were taken into consideration, we found that neighbourhoods high in disorder do not have higher crime rates in general than neighbourhoods low in disorder (Sampson quoted in Harms 2000).

As crime and disorder are on the same continuum of behaviour, they stem from the same causes, therefore concentrating on remedying disorder fails to address these shared sources, e.g. poverty and low collective efficacy (see Harms 2000).

Sampson argues that where social capital is non specific, collective efficacy exists in a task specific way. It is the goal centredness of collective efficacy which utilises existing stocks of social capital. He argues that both are needed in a neighbourhood to reduce levels of crime and disorder.

3. The relevance of collective efficacy

Sampson claims that the key mechanisms for understanding crime and communities are both social capital and collective efficacy. Sampson has taken the term 'collective efficacy' from psychology and applied it to the study of crime and communities. Having looked at social capital it is essential that we look at the second part of Sampson's claim. As a concept, collective efficacy is relatively uncontested, certainly in comparison with social capital and this is reflected in the amount that has been written on the subject, i.e. comparatively little.

4. The use of collective efficacy within psychology

Bandura was aware that people do not live in social isolation (Bandura 1986:449), but are situated in time and space, and just as behaviours have causes so too do environments (Bandura 1977:203). Several theories of crime, including social control theory (Hirschi 1969), social disorganisation theory (Shaw and McKay 1942), and differential association theory (Sutherland and Cressey 1966), all maintain the import of surrounding influences – both the social and physical environment. It follows that the study of individuals, contextualised, will be of interest to the criminologist. Collective efficacy has great impact as ‘the strength of groups, organisations, and even nations lies partly in people’s sense of collective efficacy that they can solve their problems and improve their lives through concerted effort’ (Bandura 1986:449). Sampson claims the concept of collective efficacy ‘emphasises residents’ sense of active engagement that is not well captured by the term social capital’ (Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls 1999:635).

Albert Bandura introduced the concept of efficacy in his social cognitive theory, Efficacy involves a generative capability in which cognitive, social, and behavioural sub-skills must be organised into integrated courses of action to serve innumerable purposes (Bandura 1986:391).

Bandura held that self-efficacy is perceived, being determined by the individual’s judgment of their capability to achieve specific outcomes, and therefore, ‘is concerned not with the *skills* one has but with the *judgments* of what one can do with whatever skills one possesses’ (Bandura 1986:391). If an individual possesses a high level of perceived self-efficacy, that individual will accept and set themselves challenges that interest and involve them. They will persevere when they fail, believing they are capable of success (Selner-O'Hagan 2000).

Just as an individual possesses perceived self-efficacy, where their believed capability determines how they behave, so too does a group or a collective. Such perceived collective efficacy is defined as ‘*a group’s shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to organise and execute the courses of action required to produce given levels of attainments*’ (Bandura 1997:477). Many factors contribute to the interactive effects of the group,

Some of these factors are the mix of knowledge and competencies in the groups, how the group is structured and its activities co-ordinated, how well it is led, the strategies it adopts, and whether members interact with one another in mutually facilitory or undermining ways (Bandura 1997:478).

Self-efficacy remains important as the ‘groups achievements and social change are rooted in self-efficacy’ (Bandura 1995:34; Bandura 1997). Often those who become involved in the collective are those with higher self efficacy as ‘the higher the perceived efficacy, the greater is the propensity to social activism’ (Bandura 1986:450). Yet it cannot be reduced to the sum of personal efficacies of those in the group. As the dynamics vary with the personal efficacies of the group, there is an emergent group level attribute which constitutes the collective efficacy. This ‘is reflected in judgements and group capabilities to make decisions, to enlist supporters and resources, to devise and carry out appropriate strategies and to withstand failures and reprisals’ (Bandura 1986:450-1). ‘People’s beliefs in their collective efficacy influence the type of social future they seek to achieve, how much effort they put in, and their endurance when collective efforts fail to produce quick results’ (Bandura 1995:35). Just as an individual’s belief in self efficacy shapes and determines how they behave, ‘beliefs of collective efficacy predict level of group performance. The stronger the beliefs people hold about their collective capabilities, the more they achieve’ (Bandura 1997:480). Bandura sees collective efficacy as a potentially useful concept to policy makers, for whom the challenge is to ‘construct a self-directing community that unifies, enables, and motivates its residents, [which] may require periodic renewal with fresh leadership and revitalised communal commitments organised and channelled by supportive guidance’ (Bandura 1999:501). Within the community Sampson has suggested that the successful meeting of goals is dependent upon the collective efficacy of the community.

In some respects there are analogies between how an athletic team functions and how a community functions. It is one thing to try and build up an individual’s sense of personal efficacy and another task to try and forge a sturdy sense of efficacy amongst a collection of individuals, and to sustain it in the face of setbacks and defeats (Bandura 1997). There are two measures of collective efficacy which can be used to measure perceived team efficacy, firstly, a personal version that aggregates players’ judgements of their own efficacy. Secondly a group version that summarizes the players judgements of the efficacy of their team as a whole.

The latter is more likely to be indicative of the actual levels of collective efficacy. It is hard for individual team members 'to remain socially cohesive if they have no shared vision to strive for and they approach contests handicapped by doubts in their ability to succeed. If they are to remain united through tough times, they have to believe in their potential to elevate their attainments through united teamwork' (Bandura 1997:404). It is this *expectation* of exercise of control and goal achievement which Sampson claims differentiates collective efficacy from social capital, which resides, as stock in relations⁴ (Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls 1999:635). I think it is precisely this expectation that links social capital and collective efficacy; what is social capital if it is not trust and what is trust if it is not expectation? Portes and Sensenbrenner have redefined social capital as 'expectation for action within a collectivity' (1993:1323), thus demonstrating just how closely these areas are interconnected and to an extent confused.

5. Sampson's use of collective efficacy

For Sampson the utility of collective efficacy lies in instrumentalising the idea of collective action towards a shared goal. Sampson has tried to measure it through looking at intergenerational closure and networks, which seems to be simply another way of measuring social capital, but Sampson claims it is tapping into something more specific. For Sampson, collective efficacy is of most use when it is used as a causal mechanism, i.e. when it is regarded as 'the ability of the community to control the precursors of crime, and levels of trust, respect and self-esteem within and between community members' (Halpern 2000:4).

While it is task specific it is not actor specific. The questions that social capital raises concerning ownership are not an issue in the theorising of collective efficacy. The efficacy of the collective is clearly greater than the sum of individual efficacy. It moves the issue entirely out of the private realm where private networks and norms matter to the collective and thus offers a way of understanding how groups, as composed of individuals, achieve their goals. It offers a multilevel view where the ability of the group clearly transcends the summed capabilities of the members of that group. The social capital theorising fails to address this area, making it less

⁴ The italics are my own.

appropriate for seeking to understand action at multiple levels. However I am unconvinced that this is what Sampson has managed to do with his use of the concept.

Collective efficacy seems to be able to offer a means of looking at collective action, both at the level of the collective but also that of the individual. Collective efficacy is related to self efficacy in a complex inter-dependency, complicated to the extent that it is difficult to decide a clear direction of causation, i.e. whether efficacy at the level of the individual shapes that of the collective or vice versa. Bandura seems to imply that the level of collective efficacy is directly influenced by that of the individual's level of self-efficacy (Bandura 1977, 1986, 1995, 1997; Bandura and Walters 1963). For instance in a relay team the individuals' sense of efficacy will impact on how well they perceive they will perform within the team and consequently will shape their level of perceived collective efficacy. I would suggest that this direction is not necessarily the only option. When looking at communities and how they operate, it seems that those who tend to get involved in community programmes and organisations are those who, undoubtedly, possess a high level of self efficacy. This is demonstrated by the fact they believe they can contribute in a valid and useful way. However it may operate in a circular fashion, whereby the individual may be self-efficacious but this will be further boosted by the participation in a successful group project. Thus there is a cycle where the individual's level of self-efficacy is enhanced by becoming a part of a collective where efficacy is high, and the pattern then continues in a self/ collective reinforcing manner.

Social capital therefore exists at a resource level, and is found in the existence of informal social ties, or networks of reciprocated relations. These resources are there to be tapped into, but they are neutral until drawn upon (Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls 1999). Collective efficacy is not neutral, it exists in the believed potential of such ties, 'the meaning of efficacy is captured in expectations about the exercise of control, elevating the 'agentic' aspect of social life over a perspective centred on the accumulation of 'stocks' of social resources' (Sampson 1999:635). A detailed discussion of collective efficacy illustrates how it is intrinsically connected with social capital. Sampson argues that collective efficacy is task specific and is able to

mobilise action particular to a task and therefore can be measured in a way that social capital cannot. While Sampson claims that collective efficacy goes further than social capital in harnessing collective action, his argument is not entirely convincing.

Sampson has measured collective efficacy by measuring respondent's perceived ability to intervene in neighbourhood matters, i.e. to exercise informal social control. I think that this is an inadequate operationalisation of the concept. Whilst this is useful data at the neighbourhood level, it can be included within a more complete theoretical understanding of social capital. The Principal Component Analysis performed on the neighbourhood survey within this study, discussed in chapter 4, demonstrated that there were three key components which emerged out of the various social capital measures. One of these, Neighbourhood Ownership, included the social control variables. It appears that it is preferable to mobilise both concepts of social capital and collective efficacy and to provide a more complete operationalisation of them. As concepts they are closely connected but remain different, but it is possible that they can be used jointly as a theoretical basis for the development of an econometrics. Informal social control fits quite comfortably within a concept that centres on norms and networks, and as the correlation coefficients demonstrate in chapter 4, informal social control is highly correlated with other measures of social capital.

For Sampson the inclusion of collective efficacy into his theoretical framework offered a solution to using social capital, yet social capital even with the inclusion of collective efficacy remains problematic. It is not enough simply to use the concept because it is increasingly popular, it must be demonstrated that it is an appropriate framework for understanding neighbourhoods and crime. In order to do this it is essential that some of the gaps in current criminological theorising be explored within social and political theory, in the hope that the theory can be fleshed out and further clarified.

B. The social and political theory context

Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam remain the three most important social capital theorists. Each bringing a different perspective and placing differing emphases. It is

important to understand how social capital theory has developed from Bourdieu's original delineation through to Putnam's Ameri-centric understanding of the term. With this theoretical development, although perhaps the word 'journey' may be more appropriate as development may imply progress and I am unsure that this is the case, the underlying understanding of how the world works has shifted significantly. This is important for understanding the huge growth of 'community' and with it social capital within policy debate. Let us start the journey by looking at the work of Bourdieu.

1. Bourdieu and social capital

Bourdieu's work on capital found there to be three types of capital; economic, cultural and social. Although cultural capital and social capital are fundamentally rooted in economic capital they are not solely reducible to economic capital. Within his work social capital is perhaps the least developed category, although it is crucial to engage with Bourdieu's original exposition. For Bourdieu capital is analogous to power, and he sought to understand how the different types of capital 'or power, which amounts to the same thing' could be converted into one another (Bourdieu 1986:243). For Bourdieu this element of class is crucial to his theorising, when he discussed capital he was highlighting 'the virtual monopoly of the dominant class' (Bourdieu 1986:242).

Social capital was defined as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group' (Bourdieu 1986:148). Therefore the amount of social capital possessed by an individual will depend on the extent of their networks, and in turn, on the amount of various capitals possessed by those networks. It is the individual's social capital that allows him to access and mobilise the resources available, these resources are those he is connected to and their stocks of social capital. Bourdieu's theorising on social capital explores the way that social capital is constructed and exploited by individuals in a society stratified by economic and social inequalities (Edwards 2002).

Fine notes that for Bourdieu, ‘the place reserved for social capital is one focused on the extent of social connections or networks [...] the family serves as a parallel for the social capital embodied within large-scale corporations’ (Fine 2001:55). The amount of social capital possessed is, to some degree, determined by the size of these networks. An agent’s social capital is dependent on ‘the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilise, and on the volume of the capital... possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected’ (Bourdieu 1986:249). For Bourdieu social capital remains firmly connected and associated with economic capital, as we move toward looking at the later theorists it becomes clear that they have retreated from this perspective and under their theorising social capital has become much more general and Fine argues ‘so much shallower in depth relative to Bourdieu’ (Fine 2001:63).

2. Coleman and social capital

James Coleman’s work on social capital departed from Bourdieu in a number of significant ways. For Coleman, ‘social capital is simply the extension of economics to address the handling of market imperfections and public goods/bads’ (Fine 2001:76), where for Bourdieu it offers a way of understanding the inequitable distribution of power across society.

He submitted that social capital, ‘is defined by its function... a variety of entities having two characteristics in common... some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure’ (Coleman 1990:302). If physical capital is tangible, being material in form, and human capital, while less tangible can still be observed in the form of human skill and knowledge, ‘social capital is less tangible yet, for it exists in the relations among persons’ (Coleman 1988:98-101). In his famous example of the Jewish diamond market in New York, Coleman observed how bags of diamonds need to be loaned for valuation inspection in order for the market to function efficiently. A high degree of intermarriage and shared community exists amongst this market sector, and if someone were to defect by swapping or stealing stones, these familial, religious and communal ties would be destroyed. The existence of ‘these ties makes possible transactions in which trustworthiness is taken for granted and trade can occur with

ease' enabling greater accomplishments 'than a comparable group lacking trustworthiness and trust' (Coleman 1988:99, 304).

When he defined social capital as its function he stated that it is not a single entity, but a variety, each with two elements in common; firstly, all consist of some aspect of social structure and secondly, all facilitate certain actions of actors. He identifies different forms of social structure: obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms, which facilitate the formation and maintenance of social capital. Norms are key, providing a powerful, if sometimes fragile, form of social capital, enabling and constraining, for example going outside in the dark: if an individual felt that those in her neighbourhood did not share norms on what was acceptable behaviour then feelings of fear and danger may accumulate and prevent her from going outside at night. Prescriptive norms are of particular importance in the community, especially the norm that one should forgo self-interest and act in the interests of the collectivity (Coleman 1988:104; 1994). He argues that trust can only be produced in informal small, closed communities. These communities need to be homogeneous if they are to successfully enforce and reinforce normative sanctions. This may be problematic as the mythical 'urban village' (Gans 1982) has been replaced with an often heterogeneous, transient urban population. He implies that those who contribute to the stocks of social capital often only reap a small part of the benefits, which accounts for the fact that there may be under-investment.

His writing thus implies that some aspect of social capital essentially exists as a public good, benefiting not necessarily those who maintain or implement social norms and sanctions, but all those who are part of such a structure (Coleman 1988:116). There remains a tension in his writing regarding the motivation of actors. He claims that they act in order to realise their self-interest, emphasising the private nature of social capital, but he also mentions that those who generate social capital know that they will capture only a small part of the overall benefit, implying there is some motivation outside of self-interest which may explain their behaviour. At other points Coleman suggests that social capital is often the by-product of other activities. If it is used in private activities its benefits will likely be linked to the by-products of these activities. The use of the word 'by-product' implies that the creation of social

capital is accidental, or at least not the primary purpose of these various activities. If this is the case it seems irrelevant if not incorrect to bring in arguments of self-interest and rationality if the actor's primary purpose is not concerned with the creation of social capital.

3. Robert Putnam – *Bowling Alone* and other work

One of the most prominent current writers in this field is Robert Putnam, particularly known for his most recent '*Bowling Alone*' thesis (Putnam 1993a, b, 1995, 2000, 2001). Putnam's earlier work (1993) looked at Italy, and posited that the reason for the differences between the North and South regions could be explained by the application of the concept of social capital. The superior development rate in the North was due to higher levels of social capital than were present in the South. Social capital can be basically broken down into three components; trust, norms and networks. The North with its choral societies and tighter family structures enjoyed higher stocks of social capital which in turn resulted in lower crime and higher rates of association and participation, amongst other benefits. Whilst this research was both extremely well received and widely read there have been some fierce critiques of the methods used and the application of social capital as a theoretical after-thought (Fine 2001). However this early work on social capital remains important as the root of Putnam's later thinking.

In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam has used the example of the declining habit of Americans to bowl in teams, preferring to bowl alone, as a symbol of the declining stocks of social capital in American society. Putnam has carried out an empirical study of organisational membership in the United States, and whilst acknowledging his cultural confines, suggests his research has implications for other contemporary societies. He claims that American organisational membership has considerably decreased since the 1960s, highlighting membership of churches and the PTA as examples, and confirmed by the fact that more Americans now bowl alone (as opposed to the teams of yesteryear) than ever before.

His research and conclusions have received much criticism. Among such criticisms are his target organisations; by looking at outdated and outmoded organisations, for example the League for Women Voters, he has ignored the many new organisations

that have been created and the exponential growth of some of these, such as Green Peace. He has also ignored the fact that there are now many small groups, such as support and self-help groups, which while often requiring weaker ties and lower expectations of group members, doubtless require stringently high levels of trust. Such groups illustrate Giddens' belief that in late modernity the individual needs to bolster his sense of ontological security by artificial means, i.e. by therapy or group help. So, while the average American may now bowl alone, it seems this may merely evidence a changing society i.e. not a society with no levels of social capital but simply that it is now found in different places than before. His presentation of days when America bowled in teams and everybody belonged to something borders on nostalgia and is reminiscent of Etzioni's communitarianism which also has reactionary elements (Etzioni 1994, 1995).

Putnam's most recent work (2000) suggests that there are four key reasons why America's stocks of social capital are depleted and decreasing. He points to the pressures of time and money, the continued mobility and sprawl of Americans, in terms of where people live and the distances they travel for work and leisure (although the mobility has not increased since the stocks have been decreasing), and the intergenerational changes. By this he means the generation that were children at the turn of the 20th century were a generation of 'joiners' (individuals willing to join in with association and voluntary groups), while the baby boomers and Generation Xer's are not. Interestingly, he also points out that a huge increase in the use of television and the new forms of media has corresponded with a society that joins less, volunteers less and stays at home more. He claims that the decrease in civic participation and engagement is analogous to the decreased reserves of social capital. There seems to be a gap in Putnam's theorising here, as the jump from participation to social capital is by no means straightforward.

Putnam remains pertinent to this project as he addresses what happens when people stop doing things together. The examples of bowling leagues and choral societies illustrate groups that often share more than an interest in bowling or singing, they may share locality and the accompanying concerns of locality. He points to the existence of such groups contributing to the stocks of social capital, concurring with

Coleman's suggestion that social capital is often a by-product, i.e. ancillary to the primary purpose of basic communal activity. Indeed, he is attempting to capture the concept that Sampson has since called 'collective efficacy' – the group, whatever their interest, working together to achieve a shared goal. The result of this team work is that there are relationships in place where there are bonds of trust, reciprocation and reputation at stake. The result is social capital. It is distinctive from collective efficacy which is task specific, and thus can be measured and evaluated. While collective efficacy requires social capital it also requires something further and this will be examined later in the chapter.

Putnam makes a crucial distinction between bridging and bonding capital. This will be discussed in more depth later in the thesis but it is important to briefly touch on the distinct concepts now. Bonding capital refers to the social capital that exists within a group, in other words it refers to the stocks of norms, networks and levels of trust between members of a collective or group. Bridging capital refers to the networks and trust that exist outwith that collective, for example the relationships that a group has with other groups, or individuals. Bonding capital has been compared to superglue, where it sticks a group together, whereas bridging capital has been likened to WD40, in its ability to make things work smoothly and efficiently. By having networks that extend outside itself a group is able to achieve things, partly through accessing resources, that it would otherwise be unable to do. This is perhaps particularly the case when we think about a neighbourhood and its relationships with agencies and organisations outwith that neighbourhood, i.e. its access to resources. If there are strong links with the local authority or the police or perhaps the private sector it will be able to access resources and therefore achieve success in areas that would otherwise be impossible. This is something that will be discussed in detail in chapter 5,6 and 7, where the case study work revealed that where neighbourhoods had high levels of bridging capital, i.e. connections with external bodies, it was able to access a wider range of resources and apply those resources to problem solving within their neighbourhood. In the same way neighbourhoods that had high levels of bonding capital often were unable to access the same resources as they did not have the same level of relationship with those same external players.

3.1 Critique of Putnam

Much criticism has been levelled at Putnam's work. Regarding the charge that he selected inappropriate groups and organisations to monitor, I believe that his critics can be answered by explaining the necessity of shared locality and interest in creating social capital. For social capital to be at its most productive it needs to be as collective as possible. It needs shared locality and interests and it also needs to share the benefits. While Putnam's critics claim that membership rates in America are not declining but increasing I think it remains important to look at what people are joining. The new groups, e.g. self-help, gym etc. are of quite a different nature to the old clubs and societies. Such groups are 'disembedded'⁵ – whether it is a gym that people drive past on the commute from home to work, or a yoga class or a reading group, they all have a singular purpose and it is unlikely that there are extensive by-products. Even Putnam's famous example of the choir may today be quite differently understood, for instance a choir may now function in this 'disembedded' way, meeting in the middle of a city, after work, people attend because they have a particular interest in that type of music. Where before it may have been primarily about place it is now primarily an interest group, and as such it exists without connection to a particular locale or community of people. An interesting example are the brass bands that used to be associated with collieries in the North of England. It was common for the mining community to live in the village in which the colliery was located. As the collieries began to shut down, the brass bands remained, and their membership extended, as they moved from a group that had definite geographic and social ties to being a disembedded interest group.

For Putnam, things like the bowling clubs or choirs, members may often share more than an interest, they may also share a street, a family member, the local school, a church. It finds resonance with Coleman's illustration of the Jewish diamond merchants. The type of relationships created and cultivated in such groups will inevitably produce social capital. Putnam therefore maintains that social capital,

⁵ Giddens uses the term 'disembedding' to convey how things are no longer situated in time and place, this is a result of globalisation and other changes that represent late modernity.

‘refers to features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society, facilitating co-ordinating actions’ (Putnam 1993b). The social capital is created and the diamond loaning taps the resource, enabling business, so the business is the by-product of social capital, and thus it has facilitated collective action and the goal, business, has been attained.

Putnam therefore, in spite of his critics, remains important for understanding how social capital is created and where it is most produced. Putnam’s work reinforces the importance of locality and shared interests etc in our focus on neighbourhoods.

C. Critique of social capital

1. Inadequate understanding of Trust

So far, all discussion regarding social capital has listed trust as the primary or an important example of its existence. Some social capital theorists tend to define social capital in terms of trust. Fukuyama has looked at trust as it exists within different countries, with their different market structures. Each market structure has a unique way of casting the social bond. He claims that,

trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms on the part of other members of that community. Those norms can be about deep “value” questions like the nature of God or justice, but they can also encompass secular norms like professional standards and codes of behaviour (Fukuyama 1995:26).

In fact, he suggests that it is the communities with shared moral norms that are the most successful at organising themselves and are efficient due to the presence of ‘members [who] are willing to subordinate their private interests for the sake of larger goals of the community’ (Fukuyama 1995:309). This raises interesting questions about rationality and whether trust is rational action, which is not discussed in the social capital literature. To understand and operationalise social capital, further discussion of trust, rational choice theory and game theory are necessary in order to understand the role trust plays (see section E).

2. The ends-means debate

The product of social capital is the facilitation of actions and goal achievement. There is some ambivalence as to whether the ultimate effect of social capital the

action or the goal achievement, i.e. is it the means or the end? Secondly, actions and goals can be individual or collective. Should the benefits of social capital be distributed collectively or individually? (Requier-Des Jardins 1999:5). Coleman appears to suggest that actions are facilitated through the command of a resource, i.e. human relations, which constitute social capital, seeing social capital as something that the individual actor can use to realise their interests. It is unclear how that equates with the interests of the collective.

Furthermore, Coleman claimed social capital can be a by-product of activities engaged in for other purposes (Coleman 1994:312). Rather than looking at alternative cultural and normative explanations he pursued the rational choice model and explains the formation of norms as a means of reducing externalities. By so doing, he failed to address whether some norms pre-exist, and how the interaction between individuals and their social context is dynamic: 'instead, the dynamics of the formation and destruction of social capital are explained as the outcome of aggregated individual actions – a unidirectional conception of causation from micro to macro' (Brown 2000:4). There remains unanswered, indeed unasked, whether trust facilitates social networking or whether social capital networking precedes the trust. The concept of trust will be further explored later in the chapter, in an effort to further develop how it is used within social capital theory.

D. Exploring the 'capital' of social capital

A discussion solely of the work of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam is insufficient to adequately assess the utility of social capital, due to the various holes within their theorising. While Coleman claims it is personal he simultaneously claims it as a public good. Putnam fails to actually demarcate the form social capital takes and who can use it and the benefits that originate from having stocks of it. Both fail to adequately address the nature of the 'capital' within the concept. Ironically it is Bourdieu who addresses this issue, and it is Bourdieu who has been dropped from the debate, Fine observes, 'as the literature has evolved, his presence has been observed more in the breach' (Fine 2001:53). Before turning to Bourdieu let us look at Coleman's argument that social capital is a public good. In order to do so it is necessary to look at markets.

Bowles regards the idea of markets as attractive because of their ability to make use of private information. They are most useful where 'residual claimancy and control rights are closely aligned [...] provid[ing] a decentralised and difficult to corrupt disciplining mechanism that punishes the inept and rewards high performers' (Bowles and Gintis 2000:6). He uses the example of a group of Toyama Bay fishermen who have pooled their resources and knowledge to form a cooperative, thus enabling them to continue fishing successfully in an increasingly risky environment. Bowles maintains that while markets can make use of private information, communities are able to make use of highly dispersed private information, and can apply rewards or punishments to its members accordingly. For example if a woman was using her home as a base for prostitution her neighbours may be able to discover this from witnessing the flow of customers, the occasional rumour and her increasing display of wealth. Presuming the neighbours are uncomfortable with her carrying out this type of business in their community this is an example of people acting on private knowledge either by approaching the woman or by reporting her activities to the police. Therefore, 'in contrast with states and markets, communities more effectively foster and utilise the incentives that people have traditionally deployed to regulate their common activity: trust, solidarity, reciprocity, reputation, personal pride, respect, vengeance, and retribution, among others' (Bowles and Gintis 2000:6). This is something that Coleman and Putnam failed to take into account, the unique place that communities hold when it comes to being able to monitor its citizens and their unique position for rewarding or punishing accordingly. In my mind, Bowles goes some way toward explaining how social capital will impact on the levels of crime within a community.

If social capital is high then the levels of crime should be low. This is essentially due to three reasons. Firstly, those you interact with today are likely to be those you will interact with tomorrow and actions therefore have a feedback effect and need to be socially beneficial to avoid future retaliation. Secondly, the more frequent the interaction between community members the less the cost and the greater the benefits associated with discovering more about the characteristics, recent behaviour, and likely future actions of other members. Thirdly, communities are able to overcome

the free rider problems by the members by directly punishing ‘anti-social’ behaviour. The free rider problem arises when people take advantage of a public good without contributing to that good, eg using a television without a licence (Hardin 2003). In the community one example of free riders are those who behave anti-socially, can be punished. This can be done through local situations, local institutions, and residential neighbourhoods more effectively than if they were within a contract situation. In a way, communities fall within the ‘social’ contract of social capital. He also points out that members should own the fruits or failures of their collective efforts, illustrated in the differing actions of home owners and tenants.

A reading of the Bourdieu’s social capital reveals that social capital is intricately tied up with issues of class. For Bourdieu power is simply another form of capital and as most capital was held by certain sections of society, social capital became something found in the higher classes in greater stocks than in poorer sections of society. Edwards and Foley note, ‘access to social capital is not evenly distributed... and, second, the value of social capital is inextricably linked to the fate of the social sectors in which it is nested’ (Edwards and Foley 1997:672). Fine suggests an analysis of social capital reveals that, ‘capital becomes synonymous with power in general and also with stratification according to access to money, occupation, or wealth. Capital becomes associated with capitalism, its functioning within the economy extrapolated more generally to society as a whole’ (Fine 2001:37). This awareness that there is a ‘class’ element to the social capital is further explored in the case study work where the vertical dimension (the stocks of bridging capital) was so crucial to the ability of the neighbourhood to achieve solutions to their problems. This vertical dimension and its importance for collective action, confirms the Bourdieuan perspective that capital (i.e. power) is stratified. The very use of the term ‘vertical’ reinforces that there is a degree of hierarchy within the system, and that the power is held by those higher up the chain.

1. Brown and trust

There is therefore some bi-directional feedback regarding the market and how it casts the social bond. This will need to be examined in some detail. As capital makes capital, so social capital produces benefits, but how are its benefits distributed?

Brown thinks that social capital can best be seen through ‘systemism’ where social capital is a processual system for allocating resources across a social network according to the pattern of relations among the individual egos that comprise the network. This is a three dimensional analysis of social capital seen as,

components, structure and environment. In a system of social capital, the components are the individual egos that comprise the social network. The system’s structure is the pattern of relationship ties among the egos. The system’s environment is constituted by the greater social ecology in which the system is embedded (Brown 2000:1).

Brown suggests that ‘a comprehensive conception of social capital would hold that trust may also be a function of network characteristics, or of the macro structural regime in which the network is embedded’ (Brown 2000:11). This is what Portes has referred to as ‘bounded solidarity’ and ‘enforceable trust’. This notion that the macro structural matters and is powerful, will be developed throughout the thesis.

Another way of viewing the products of social capital is to see them as externalities. For instance, if a community works together and there are shared networks and trust exists, one of the benefits will be improved crime prevention. That improved prevention will be an externality as it is a result of social capital and an example of collective efficacy. By externality I mean a benefit that is not included in the market price of a good, an example of negative externality is pollution resulting from industry (Callahan 2001). An example of a positive externality of social capital will be decreased crime. The nature of their relationships will entail that the community members are more vigilant and proactive in monitoring criminal and anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood.

2. Ownership

If we take the analogy of capital further, who owns social capital? Putnam claims that ‘unlike conventional capital, social capital is a “public good”’ (Putnam 1995). Fafchamps and Minten [1998] define social capital, ‘as a stock of emotional attachment to a group or society at large that facilitate the provision of public goods’ or ‘an individual asset that benefits a single individual or firm’ conceding that the two meanings are linked. Although it exists structurally and relationally, it seems logical to reduce it down to the most basic level – the relational. The building block of social capital must inhere in relations between individuals, for instance in how

well people trust each other and how well they are connected. If, rationally, social capital is merely the sum of individual actors then it must be those individual actors which are at the root of it. One problem with the public good argument is that until it is owned social capital appears to be redundant, until it is owned it simply exists, latently. Whilst it may facilitate certain actions and decisions, essentially it is just there. When it is specifically needed as a source of capital to be drawn upon, it is activated. So in a sense until it is needed, ownership is not claimed, even though it may already exist, for example the fact that radio channels are broadcast on radio waves and can be accessed by anyone does not matter until a person has a radio and can actually access them. So, while the radio channels existed before that person had a radio it had little relevance for their life. It may be helpful to think about financial capital. Much like financial capital it accumulates in an account in a bank, gathering interest, and while the ownership is clear (it belongs to the individual named on the account) effectively its ownership is shared, benefiting at once, the individual (who receives interest and security), the bank (who receive collateral) and other account holders at the bank. Though the ownership is clear, there are resulting shared benefits.

Social capital seems to exist in a similar way. While it rests in the equivalent of a bank account, i.e. lodged in societal structures and personal relationships, benefiting many more than the original contributing individual or individuals, if ownership is queried, it must also reside with the original contributor. This seems to have serious ramifications for the premise that social capital is a public good. Social capital is almost definitely not a public good. Ownership can be traced. However there remains the free-rider problem associated with public goods. Within a community with high stocks of social capital there may still be individuals or the infamous ‘problem families’ who abuse the existence of social capital⁶. They have not contributed to the stocks of such capital and therefore are unable to take legitimate advantage of its existence so they take illegitimate advantage of it, i.e. by behaving criminally (it is illegitimate as it offends the law-abiding norms that exist as social capital). This

⁶ Such problem families are highlighted in the literature as often being the primary cause of an areas crime rates. In some areas one family may be responsible for the majority of crime.

would perhaps explain why neighbourhoods with high levels of social cohesion may still have high levels of crime. Perhaps only those who can trace some ownership in social capital feel able to draw upon it, i.e. there can be no free-riders. The free-riders are those who behave criminally and may subsequently get caught, thus paying a price, in the form of punishment, albeit different from the original contribution to the store of social capital. Another example would be a family who behave anti-socially, playing loud music, having late night parties, leaving rubbish everywhere. If a new family were to move next door to this family and they exceeded their own anti-social behaviour, the original family may feel that they could not use the support systems in the neighbourhood, as they had made no contribution to their existence or maintenance, other than through their own problematic behaviour.

This may be of relevance when it comes to looking at ‘problem families’ – assessing whether they have contributed to the stock of social capital. Presumably they may not have contributed, thus feel no ownership of that resource and therefore behave as if it were not present, as it is not an option for them to draw upon it. Any attempts to take advantage of the existence of such a stock, without having claims of ownership at a building block level, may result in criminal behaviour being noticed and punished. White collar crime in a company seems a perfect example of how an individual who has contributed to the stocks of social capital may draw upon the resource due to a stake in the ownership, and thus may be able to get away with criminal behaviour. Such criminal behaviour may not benefit the collective but it may be in individuals’ interests to ignore such behaviour for future reciprocation. Indeed, due to the high levels of trust inherent in social capital, it may not even be noticed, and certainly not suspected.

There is another aspect of social capital which has implications for studying the neighbourhood and crime. One externality of social capital is informal social control. When there are high levels of trust, networks and shared norms it is expected that informal social control will result. Informal social control then becomes a public good, as people can not be excluded from it. For instance if a neighbourhood experienced a problem with a teenage gang, they would be subject to whatever

informal social control was existent, there may or may not be adequate amounts to deal with such a problem.

3. Bourdieu and Capital

At this juncture it is relevant to look at how Bourdieu understood the capital within social capital. In his work on the three forms of capital Bourdieu makes explicit connections between power and capital, those who were the powerful within society were those who owned the capital, regardless of the form it took. For Bourdieu, social capital was not a public good, it was most definitely privately owned. This point has significant consequences for the direction his scholarship took in this area, even more striking when compared with the work of Coleman and Putnam. For Coleman and Putnam the public good characteristic of the capital enables them to discuss social capital abstractly, as if existing outwith society and all the struggles and dynamics therein.

‘From the Bourdieuan perspective, social capital becomes a resource in the social struggles that are carried out in different social arenas or fields’ (Siisiainen 2000). In Putnam’s omission of politics ‘he neglects the vertical dimension of voluntary associations and power relations that are inherent in all modern association’ (Siisiainen 2000). Whilst Bourdieu located his exposition of capital within a capitalist world, both Coleman and Putnam fail to do so, resulting in what Fine has suggested is an immature approach (Fine 2001:63). Discussing Coleman’s work Fine writes, ‘[f]or him, social capital is simply the extension of economics to address the handling of market imperfections and public goods/ bads. It is the extension of the theory of the individual in social exchange theory to deal with market imperfections’ (Fine 2001:76). This is not good enough. One of the central criticisms of the writing on social policy, as it has been adopted largely by policy-makers, is the general lack of awareness of the ‘real world’. Just as there exist power dynamics and politics within the world, so too do these exist within the communities and neighbourhoods which the policy makers are targeting. Until their understanding of social capital can take this into account, it will simply reproduce those inequalities and struggles. Not only is access to social capital not evenly distributed, the value of the social capital is

inextricably linked with the future of the social sectors within which it is located (Edwards and Foley 1997:672).

E. Exploring the 'social' of social capital

Social capital as a theory seeks to explain collective behaviour, yet there is surprisingly little attention paid to the collective. For Coleman, 'the central theoretical problem in sociology is the transition from the level of the individual to a macro level – the problem that economists call... "aggregation", although the term is a misleading one' (Coleman 1986:347). It seems logical then that Coleman should turn to the economist perspective of rational choice theory as a means of addressing or at least exploring this problem. For him, social capital is an answer to the problem of public goods and externalities, 'the capacity to deal with these issues reflects a balance between satisfying individual interests and exercising control over them (to prevent free-riding). Once such arrangements are internalised by individuals, they represent norms of behaviour' (Fine 2001:74). In Coleman's theory of social capital rational choice is the basis on which all social interactions are built upon.

Coleman's use of rational choice however has received much criticism. Tilly suggests that, 'although his verbal accounts mentioned many agents, monitors and authorities who influenced individual actions, his mathematical formulations tellingly portrayed a single actor's computations rather than interactions among persons' (Tilly 1998:19). Let us look at more detail at rational choice theory and why Coleman used game theory, in an effort to better understand the direction he took.

1. Rational Choice theory

Coleman's original conception of social capital rested on the assumption that man was rational and that social capital offered a way of understanding how the social impinged upon his decision-making. Economics provides a model of behaviour, criminal or otherwise, to 'dispense with special theories of anomie, psychological inadequacies, or inheritance of special traits' (Becker 1968:170). Such theories are replaced with that of rational choice, where *homo economicus* will modify his behaviour to maximise personal benefit. The rational choice theory presumes that

people follow ‘a predictable line of conduct and allows one to anticipate the unfolding of their interaction’ (Mackaay 1982:138). Rational choice theory maintains ‘that people’s preferences are rational if they are complete and transitive and that people choose rationally if their choices are determined by their preferences’ (Hausman 1997:38). It is striking for the ‘simplicity of its model of motivation’ (Misztral 1996:77), namely that rational choices are made by rational actors. The rational choice model presumes that at any point the individual has a choice, to use legitimate or illegitimate means. The model predicts that *homo economicus* will choose to use whichever means offer the maximum benefit (Pearson 1997; Posner 1998). Coleman uses this as a way of understanding social capital and the way in which it is produced and how it grows.

Norrie correctly points out that *homo economicus* is a significant departure from ‘real individuals belonging to particular social classes, possessing the infinite differences that constitute genuine individuality, [and emphasising] one side of human life – the ability to reason and calculate’ (Norrie 1993:23). Real individuals neither possess all the relevant information needed to make informed, reasoned choices, nor do they have the ability to make such calculations in a time constrained world (Mackaay 1982). There is often a leap of faith involved in human behaviour, for example, I will continue driving when the light is green, trusting that other drivers will stop when their light is red. Trust is based on incomplete knowledge, on an often ignorant presumption that the other actor will act in a certain way. Rational choice theory fails to appreciate the importance of trust and the fact that it is often apparently irrational.

It is perhaps necessary to clarify that self-interest is not necessarily selfishness. The self-interested may make unselfish choices because their preference may be to assist others, as ‘rationality places no constraints on what a rational individual may prefer, and therefore permits moral preferences and moral choices (Hausman 1997:52). Indeed ‘[a] viable definition of rationality must not exclude charity and love; indeed, consistent family behaviour probably *requires* love between family members’ (Becker 1971:26). For example a husband may choose to care for his terminally ill wife, a decision which will have no obvious benefit to him other than it is something he strongly wants to do. This action could still be called self interested, although the

interest is in a preference for behaving a certain way, not for an obvious or tangible gain. It is quite different from the second type of self interest where one behaves in a more instrumental way, where co-operation is in their interest, i.e. paying money in a supermarket to get food in return.

Theorising about social capital requires that individuals realise that optimal outcomes result from co-operating. Thus co-operation, contributing to the social capital in whatever context they are operating within, is the rational choice. It is right to note as Hausmann has (1997) that rational action does not always translate into selfish action. However when social capital stocks are being built it could be considered long-term selfish action rather than short-term. However can a theory built on rational choice assumptions ever accommodate and understand the seeming irrationality of communities and co-operation?

Rational choice theory suggests that social life constitutes the aggregated outcomes of all individuals' rational choices. The maximised individual outcome is contingent upon the effects of others' actions. Consequently, the decision process is best analysed by utilising the methodology of game theory, in which 'each actor considers what others are likely to do and then makes the best choice to attain her end, given the probable behaviour of others (Turner 1991:84)' (Misztral 1996:78).

2. Co-operation, Game theory, Public Goods and Free-riders

It seems that Coleman appreciated the tensions between social capital theory and the free-rider problem. For instance, why should people trust each other and co-operate when rationally they would be better off taking advantage of the other party and thus benefiting themselves. In other words he was concerned with trying to ascertain why there was not more of a problem of free-riding in the area of collective action. Why would anyone act to benefit the collective when it means they are deliberately avoiding action that would directly benefit themselves. This exploration necessarily touches upon issues of public goods, as if social capital is a public good there is shared ownership of the benefits and more of a risk that free-riding will be a problem. He discusses the Prisoner's dilemma, found within game theory, as a means

of trying to understand how the free-rider problem might exist within social capital theory.

This approach in economics, 'game theory', concentrates on how and why people and systems co-operate with one another, or as Fukuyama suggests, how and why norms and rules have come about (Fukuyama 2000:150). It may be worth pursuing game theory in the hope that it might shed some light on why people and systems co-operate or choose not to. Game theory arose as an attempt to understand strategic interactions amongst individuals. Game theorists usually take rationality to be expected utility maximising; a player's strategy consists of the choices he or she makes (Hausman 1997). A game is an interaction or exchange between two (or more) actors, where each actor attempts to optimise a certain variable by acting towards the other actor in such a way that he could expect a maximum gain, depending on the other's response. Co-operation is usually analysed in game theory by means of a non-zero-sum game called the 'Prisoner's Dilemma' (Axlerod 1984) (Poundstone 1992), which 'vividly represent[s] problems of social co-operation, free-riding, and public goods provision' (Hausman 1997:184). In the Prisoner's Dilemma,

the two players in the game can choose between two moves, either 'co-operate' or 'defect'. The idea is that each player gains when both co-operate, but if only one of them co-operates, the other one, who defects, will gain more. If both defect, both lose (or gain very little) but not as much as the 'cheated' co-operator whose co-operation is not returned [...] ⁷ (Heylighten 1992).

The gain for mutual co-operation is therefore less than if one were to defect, whilst the other co-operated, but more than if both defected, so there will always be the

⁷ 'The game got its name from the following hypothetical situation: imagine two criminals arrested under the suspicion of having committed a crime together. However, the police does not have sufficient proof in order to have them convicted. The two prisoners are isolated from each other, and the police visit each of them and offer a deal: the one who offers evidence against the other one will be freed. If none of them accepts the offer, they are in fact cooperating against the police, and both of them will get only a small punishment because of lack of proof. They both gain. However, if one of them betrays the other one, by confessing to the police, the defector will gain more, since he is freed; the one who remained silent, on the other hand, will receive the full punishment, since he did not help the police, and there is sufficient proof. If both betray, both will be punished, but less severely than if they had refused to talk. The dilemma resides in the fact that each prisoner has a choice between only two options, but cannot make a good decision without knowing what the other one will do' (Heylighten 1992).

temptation to defect. The original prisoners' dilemma refers to a one decision game, not applicable to day to day life, which requires an awareness of implications the decision may have on future hopes and promises of reciprocity and reputation. Fukuyama has noted that life seems to be a bigger version of the prisoners' dilemma, but a version that is repeated indefinitely, and where reciprocity and reputation really matter. This idea of the iterated prisoner's dilemma game reminds us that norms are built through such repeated interactions on a daily basis.

The prisoner's dilemma suggests implications for advocates of rationality. If both decision makers were rational they would never choose to co-operate; if rational decision making means that you choose the decision that is best for you, regardless of how it impacts others. Heylighten posits that if both 'irrationally' decide to co-operate, both would gain. She explains this using the principle of sub-optimization, 'derived from the more basic systemic principle stating that "the whole is more than the sum of its parts"' (Heylighten 1992). It seems that the Prisoner's dilemma illustrates what has been termed the 'public goods dilemma' – public goods are not generated by people simply acting rationally or only in their own self interest. There must be an element of non-rational behaviour. In an organised community it is entirely plausible that people behave irrationally for the greater good. Indeed any community effort will exert a price at a personal level but will contribute to the collective good, which will, in any case produce long term benefit for all. We will return to the idea of the whole being more than the sum of its parts when we look at collective efficacy.

Axlerod and Hamilton's paper, 'The Evolution of Cooperation', used biological examples to draw the lesson for human beings that our frequent use of reciprocity may be instinctual i.e. a part of our nature – an instinct. As such it develops naturally within us and therefore is not learnt rationally. Ridley (1997) suggests that there are important components which must exist in order for reciprocity to function. The group cannot be so large that people do not know each other, and reputation matters, as one makes decisions based on what one knows about others.

3. The importance of trust

It is trust that allows individuals to make such decisions – trust enables the overcoming of such unknowns. So trust is of central importance in the prisoners' dilemma and it has been claimed that 'social capital is clearly spontaneously generated all the time through the playing of iterated prisoners' dilemma games' (Fukuyama 1999:15). But it is a mistake to try to fit all social behaviour into some wider model of rationality. If social capital is defined 'as instantiated, informal norms that produce co-operation' (Fukuyama 1999:14), it is clear that culture, or 'ethical habit' (Fukuyama 1995) must play a role, as well as reason. Community, solidarity and social cohesion are rarely written about without reference to 'trust', for they 'depend on mutual trust and will not arise spontaneously without it' (Fukuyama 1995:25), yet as a concept it remains elusive and at times almost ethereal.

It seems that rational choice theory does not, indeed cannot, offer a valid way of looking at this issue of trust. Rationality is just not a sensible way of seeking to understand how collectives work. They are not the product of rational choice in the economic use of the term and it is evident that 'human beings act for non-utilitarian ends in irrational, group oriented ways sufficiently often that the neo classical model presents us with an incomplete picture of human nature' (Fukuyama 1995:21).

To simply look at social capital without seeking to appreciate a deeper understanding of the meaning of trust in day to day life would be to repeat one of the primary mistakes of the key authors in this area.

F. The role of Trust

1. Definitions of trust

Misztal suggests that this renewed interest in returning to 'a civil society' is nothing more than trying to establish what it is that constitutes trust in our society; a society that is highly differentiated, modern and rationalised. Trust is a notoriously slippery concept, and where social capital is often regarded as all embracing and interdisciplinary notion, trust may even be more so. Indeed, 'the omnipresence of trust and its problematic and multiple meanings have resulted in an unimpressive record

on the part of the social sciences in grasping its meaning' (Misztral 1996:13). It is essential to grapple with the concept in order to delineate it and make it useful for this area of study, and to attempt to achieve a operational, workable and thus measurable definition of trust. I want to suggest that trust is expectation, often justified, that another will act in the way you believe they will act, or should act, for instance when the traffic lights turn green the cars move, trusting that those opposite in the junction will stop when their lights turn red. I hope that by examining the notion of trust further we can expand and improve the theorising on social capital, applying it to the study of communities and crime, and achieve a more complex and sensitive understanding of how they interact.

Fukuyama has written extensively on how culture determines the level of trust in a society. He defines culture as inherited ethical habit (Fukuyama 1995:13, 20) and borrows from Geertz something of the 'thick description' method (Geertz 1973). He examines the market structure of 'high-trust' societies like America, Japan and Germany, and 'low-trust' societies like China, France, Korea and Italy, and looks at how the market shapes the social bond. His definitions of trust are of particular relevance. He points out that communities will emerge in differing degrees in different cultures as their existence depends on the levels of trust, which is culturally determined (Fukuyama 1995:25). For Fukuyama,

trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms on the part of other members of that community. Those norms can be about deep 'value' questions like the nature of God or justice, but they can also encompass secular norms like professional standards and codes of behaviour (Fukuyama 1995:26).

Fukuyama claims that social capital is the 'crucible of trust' and it therefore seems appropriate to use the concept of social capital but to mould it to take especial account of 'trust'. This may serve to reinforce the truth that rational choice may be an inappropriate model for understanding life within a collective like a community.

Hardin has suggested three reasons why people trust; firstly, because one values a relationship enough to want to maintain it and will want to fulfil the trust placed in you. Secondly, one values someone else enough to include their interests in their

own, for example a lover or a parent, and thirdly, one has strong moral commitments that require trust to be fulfilled, for example, a belief in fidelity (Hardin 2000:34). Obviously it is rational to trust as it facilitates action, but this does not answer why some people trust more. If one did not trust other people than even the most simple of exchanges, ie of money for goods or services, would become complicated with both parties having to constantly renegotiate their situation. I think that the explanation for this rationality will be to look at neighbourhoods where there is a high level of trust and to assess what difference that makes to the quality of life. Chapter 3 discusses operationalising trust as part of the typology of social capital.

Trust has often been examined within the ambit of economics, presented as a public good, indeed as a utility, rather than merely a regulatory mechanism. For example,

trust has a very important pragmatic value, if nothing else. Trust is an important lubricant of a social system. It is extremely efficient; it saves a lot of trouble to have a fair degree of reliance on other people's word. [...] Trust and similar values, loyalty or truth-telling, are examples of what the economist would call "externalities". They are goods, they are commodities; they have real, practical economic value; they increase the efficiency of the system, enable you to produce more goods or more of whatever values you hold in high esteem (Arrow 1974:152).

The question needs to be asked whether human behaviour lends itself to being understood within this economic context, or if other theories may prove more helpful.

Theories of late modernity explain the concept of trust as a necessary means of buffering and protecting against risk. Luhmann was the first to provide a clarified framework for this concept of trust. Misztral has noted Luhmann continues Parson's functional approach, although his perspective is more concerned with how trust enables the reduction of some complexity in an increasingly complex society. For Luhmann the existence of trust enables the reduction of complexity by paradoxically increasing the potential for complexity. 'That trust can only be understood and compared with other functionally equivalent mechanisms only from the point of view of its function' (Misztral 1996:73) is key to Luhmann's perspective.

We therefore need to understand trust by understanding how it functions in our world today, as Luhmann recommended, before we seek to understand its creation and formation. This is not straightforward as,

[t]rust can perform a multitude of functions. It can be a silent background, sustaining unproblematic and smooth-running cooperative relations. It can be a solution to the free-rider problem. It can help people to reconcile their own interests with those of others. It can provide political leaders with the necessary time to carry out their reforms. It can offer friends or lovers a platform from which to negotiate their relations. [...] This diversity of assumed functions and various classifications, together with an ambiguous and diversified context of trust relations as well as an overloaded emotional and overstated explanatory value of the concept, makes trust one of the most difficult concepts to handle in empirical research (Misztral 1996:95).

It quickly becomes obvious that if we are to study trust we need to place some delimitations on the concept. Luhmann posits that the central function of trust is the reduction of complexity, an idea which Beck (Beck 1999a) and Giddens (Giddens 1990, 1991, 1999) have reinforced in their use of 'risk'. Luhmann claims that trust enables people to get on with day-to-day living as although their presumptions of trust are based on a blending of knowledge and ignorance (Simmel). It is the only way to sustain existence, because in both cooperative action and individual but coordinated action, 'trust, by the reduction of complexity, discloses possibilities for action which would have remained improbable and unattractive without trust – which would not, in other words, have been pursued' (Luhmann 1979:25).

Luhmann believes that trust and familiarity are both ways of reducing complexity which exist in a relationship of dynamic dualism (dynamic in response to the complexity of the social system). On the basis of familiarity with the everyday world, it is interpersonal trust which predominates as 'it serves to overcome an element of uncertainty in the behaviour of other people which is experienced as the unpredictability of change in an object' (Luhmann 1979:22). Whilst Luhmann provides an interesting theoretical perspective on trust, it is not enough to merely draw from his work. Much of how he understands trust is through understanding and analysing what trust is not. A negative definition can never be as useful as a positive definition. However he is particularly of help in how he addresses the emergence and cultivation of trust, whether it be trust in systems or individuals.

He suggests that as complexity grows and other persons enter the picture trust has to be extended, diluting the original familiarity. One way to reduce this increased complexity is to place trust in systems. Luhmann maintains that ‘system trust is not only applicable to social systems but also to other people as personal systems’ (Luhmann 1979:22). As an attitude it is neither subjective nor objective and as such it must be learned, as other generalisations are. Luhmann points to infancy in the family as the basis for learning trust, although he is quick to interject that new situations and new people encountered during the life course continually pose new problems of trust throughout life. It may be relevant to address this area of family life when formulating relevant questions to be considered in the case studies.

Luhmann suggests that,

trust relationships find a favourable soil in social contexts with the same kind of structure, i.e. are characterised by the relative persistence of the relationship, by reciprocal dependencies, and a certain quality of the unforeseen. The overriding consideration is that one is going to meet again. [...] It appears therefore that, social systems which are thrown upon mutual trust to an exceptional extent, by the very structure of their internal interdependencies, at the same time also generate more favourable conditions for the emergence of trust (Luhmann 1979:37).

It would appear that whilst trust is prevalent in situations where there is reciprocation and repeated contact, these are the situations which differ from that of the original prisoners’ dilemma, but not that of the iterated version. It also becomes apparent that where trust exists the propensity for trust to increase is greater. Putnam has noted that with social capital, as with conventional capital, ‘them as has gets’ (Putnam 1995). This will be relevant to understanding collective efficacy where there appears to be a complex inter-dependence between the existence of collective and self efficacy. Let us turn again to social capital and the role which trust plays within the social capital literature.

2. Trust and social capital theory

If we acknowledge that social capital can be understood partly in terms of trust, it must be true that a more detailed understanding of social capital will better illustrate how theorists like Coleman and Putnam perceive trust. Coleman (1990; 1988) assumes actors to be rational and unconstrained by norms i.e. purely self-interested, thus viewing interest as the ultimate motivation of all social action. It is the time-lag

in trust situations which introduces the risk, i.e. the space in time between the action and the reciprocation or justification for the trust demonstrated. Coleman posits that, 'trust is a purposive behaviour aiming at the maximisation of utility under risk. Mutual trust is seen as a form of social capital since it reduces the cost of monitoring and sustaining activities' (Coleman 1994:306-310). It seems for Coleman that trust is not very well differentiated from self-interest, he fails to adequately understand the 'social' aspect of trust and norms, and how the individual feels a part of that social body, rather than operating only as a isolated individual, pursuing their self-interest. Not only then, can personal trust be accumulated and stored when it is tested and proven, in a social context it can accumulate 'as a kind of capital which opens up more opportunities for more extensive action but which also must be continually used and tended' (Luhmann 1979:64). Luhmann concludes that whether a case calls for trust or distrust is 'rationally indisputable'. However,

If one were to take as a yardstick the concept of rationality in decision-making theories – be it that of the rational choice in the employment of means, or that of optimising – one would from the outset fall into a too narrow conceptual frame of reference which cannot do justice to the facts of trust. Trust is not a means that can be chosen for particular ends, much less an end/means structure capable of being optimised (Luhmann 1979:88).

Trust as social capital reflects in a microcosm the difficult ends/means debate contained within the concept of social capital. The consequences of trust, and social capital, are rational - the product, an increased potential for complexity, is desirable that increases the potential for co-operation. For example if one undertakes to watch a neighbour's house while they are away, in return one trusts that they will reciprocate such behaviour. It is rational to expend this energy in observation, as it will be paid back in kind. Another example of trust as rational action is keeping an eye on children, perhaps including one of your own, hanging around the vicinity of your home, you may take steps to chastise them if they misbehave. The motivation of such action is not only to safeguard that immediate area, which includes your home, but is also done trusting that if the same children were misbehaving two streets along, another responsible adult would take similar action. That is rational action, i.e. it makes sense to protect other people and their property if they provide the same service for you.



Portes writes that social capital is a product of embeddedness (Portes 1995:12-3). Portes distinguishes between relational embeddedness and structural embeddedness. Where relational embeddedness describes dyadic expectations of reciprocity based upon the expected ability of the other actor in the dyad to enforce sanctions. But when both actors are part of a broader network – and hence structurally embedded – trust is increased because of mutual expectations that the broader community will enforce sanctions. Portes calls this “enforceable trust” (Brown 2000:5). This enforceable trust seems to be what Fukuyama is talking about when he claims that communities depend upon it and cannot arise without it. Social capital is then something that arises from this structurally embedded trust which is found in societies (Fukuyama 1995:25). It can be embodied in the smallest and most basic social group, the family, as well as the largest of all groups the nation, and in all other groups in between. Social capital differs from other forms of human capital in so far as it is usually created and transmitted through cultural mechanisms like religion, tradition or historical habit. (Fukuyama 1995:26).

Trust poses interesting problems when analysed within a rational choice framework. If, as Luhmann says, the primary function of trust is to reduce complexity, a seemingly rational end, it achieves this in an irrational way. It is safe to assume that a large proportion of trust decisions are made in blindness, or at least partial blindness, they are taken on the basis that if such a decision is made, or such an action taken, then such a decision or a specific action will result. There is no guarantee that this will be the case, it is a leap of faith, seemingly irrational behaviour. Its rationality is understood, however when compared with the alternative; a world where nothing could be presumed would be very complicated and things would have to proceed at a much simpler, basic level. So while it is irrational to trust with a partial blindness, it is more irrational not to. For instance, in a relationship, after a certain period of time, some things may not be considered or entertained as options, e.g. infidelity. There has been a specific commitment made and the presumption is that it is maintained, unless it is reviewed. There may be reason to make such a review, i.e. evidence to suggest that the commitment has been broken. If the duped party continues to trust, that becomes irrational action as ultimately it cannot be in their self-interest to trust

so blindly. Interesting parallels can be drawn with the move in late modernity from the prevalence of personal trust to that of systems trust. In the past it was not a viable option or a real choice to sue your doctor. There existed a relationship of trust between patient and personal physician, to the extent that it was extremely unlikely to question a prognosis or procedure. The locus of that trust today has shifted, it is now placed more often in the system and it is no longer a blind trust. It is not unusual to question medical procedure and propriety and it is possible to not only sue the individual (the 'expert' in Giddens' theory) but also the system that expert is a part of (for instance the hospital trust or medical practice). This concept of trust as reducing complexity is taken up by theorists of late modernity. For them trust not only reduces complexity but makes life today possible.

3. Trust and 'late modernity'

Theories of late modernity suggest that the world is no longer confined and constrained by the locale. Rather life has undergone a process of stretching, where 'disembedding mechanisms provide the means of this extension by lifting social relations out of their "situatedness" in specific locales' (Giddens 1990). For Giddens, trust is essential to this extended time-space distancing associated with modernity. It is trust which enables people to make commitments with strangers and institutions, acting like an 'emotional inoculation against existential anxieties' (Giddens 1991:39), and allowing them to screen off possible risks and dangers. A reliance on individuals and surroundings, which is intrinsically connected with trust, is central to 'ontological security' (security of being) (Giddens 1990:92). Ontological security is necessary for daily functioning, as 'on the other side of what might appear to be quite trivial aspects of day-to-day action and discourse, lurks chaos' (Giddens 1991:36). It is trust which enables the individual to form the requisite sense of ontological security, to carry them 'through transitions, crises and circumstances of high risk' (Giddens 1991:38). This,

[s]ense of precariousness, of a strung-out existence, is an important new element in people's lives, even as these lives grow more varied and mobile and exciting [...] Little surprise then, that the felt need to establish control over risks and uncertainties and the desire to stave off insecurity, becomes ever more urgent (Garland 2000:361).

Trust represents an attempt to control the risk and has become ‘a reflexive project based on the knowledge that the world is not simply given but is a product of human transforming activity’ (Giddens 1991:3-34). In pre-modern times all such relations were located in the local community. The impact of globalisation means relations are no longer harnessed to the locality, but it remains an important arena for studying trust. Today ‘[t]he local and the global have become inextricably intertwined, [...] feelings of close attachment to, or identification with places still persist’ (Giddens 1990:109). There is still an acknowledged basic need for community (Bauman 2001, Taylor 1982, Braithwaite 1995).

While Giddens acknowledges that trust in structures, i.e. in abstract systems, is growing he reflects that the increasing use of therapy represents the psychological shortfall created by the trust having shifted from the personal to the abstract. Mizrual holds that, ‘Giddens’ contribution to the theory of trust redirects interest in the notion of trust from more deterministic and single-order explanations to an approach which combines the psychology of trust with a multi-dimensional sociological understanding of the conditions of trust’ (Misztral 1996:94). It is this wider sociological understanding that is necessary for theorising about activity at the community level.

The changes that Putnam has noted in the evolving shape of American society can to some extent be explained by how the world is changing, or, at least, how the western world is changing. He points out that membership of local groups and organisations is decreasing and uses that as a part explanation for decreasing stocks of social capital. He fails to address the bigger picture, that this is merely symptomatic of wider trends in society. It is worth spending some time thinking about the concept of community and whether it remains a valid term in a world that is no longer anchored in time and space.

Theorists of late modernity posit that relations have been lifted out of the locale and ‘disembedded’. Where before time and distance prevented people freely moving around, with air travel and the internet there are far fewer boundaries. The meaning of community and neighbourhood has also perhaps evolved somewhat. In pre-

modern times the kinship group was responsible for ruling the kingdom. In the late modern state there is a highly differentiated system of government, with separation of powers. For the local community vertical and horizontal dimensions remain central and defining. The vertical dimension refers, in part, to the impact upon the community of governmental decisions and policy. I think it is appropriate to apply it to 'top-down' filtrations and communications of power, although it is also important to realise that vertical relations can refer to power moving from the ground level up. This is something that will perhaps become more prevalent as western governments seek to help create and then resource an active citizenship.

Garland has noted that the state is no longer sovereign, illustrated by their failure to control crime rates (Garland 2000), though of course communities cannot exist as islands (Bauman 2001:54). Despite such cultural shifts the need for community continues, or perhaps is even increasing. Community has resumed importance but has assumed a new form. It confirms identity but must be flexible and the bond created cannot by nature ever be as binding as it once was, to use one of Weber's metaphors it is not a steel casing but a light cloak which is desired (Bauman 2001:65). As it becomes less important where one lives it simultaneously becomes more important as there is an increased sense of value of place. Richard Sennett has sought to explain this paradox, 'the sense of place is based on the need to belong not to "society" in the abstract, but to somewhere in particular; in satisfying that need, people develop commitment and loyalty'. It seems that the more people feel disembedded the more they will seek to feel embedded somewhere – logically in their locality. Taylor has long recognised this need for individuals to be a part of a community (Taylor 1982). As risk increases, so does the need to feel safe. Bauman has likened peoples' longing for a community as a desire for a 'personal nuclear shelter [...] a safe environment' (Bauman 2001:114). As threats seem to be increasing all around us there is an instinct to draw unto our own, to seek refuge in a community. These threats cannot be addressed by individuals, but by collectives, control over such variables can only be achieved collectively (Bauman 2001:147-150). The combination of these factors makes this an interesting time to be looking at communities and how they exist either successfully or unsuccessfully so that it might

be understood how they can be created and maintained and nurtured. One of the key concepts that recent theorists have highlighted (Sampson) here is collective efficacy.

It seems that within the social capital literature there is a failure to address the issue of the collective, or the social, as discussed earlier. While it is posited that social capital can exist at different levels, from nation to neighbourhood, there is a lacuna in the writing regarding an understanding of how the neighbourhood or nation might use this social capital. Whilst it seems apparent that there is a process at work, at no time is it clearly delineated what this process is. This is perhaps amongst the greatest of the shortcomings of social capital theory. If the task is to understand the processes through which a neighbourhood might try to control crime, social capital can alert us to the importance of networks and norms and trust but it does not necessarily help us to understand how these might work together, or at what level they might work together.

G. The role of networks

1. Network theory

Much has been written on networks within sociology. Early work by Fischer observed that networks are our community,

Individuals' bonds to one another are the essence of society. Our day-to-day lives are preoccupied with people, with seeking approval, providing affection, exchanging gossip, falling in love, soliciting advice, giving opinions, soothing anger, teaching manners, providing aid, making impressions, keeping in touch - or worrying about why we are not doing these things. By doing all these things we create community. And people continue to do them, in modern society. The relations these interactions define in turn define society, and changes in those relations mark historical changes in community life (Fischer 1982:2).

These bonds or networks are to some extent dependent on where an individual lives. As Fischer writes; 'where people live can, to varying degrees, mould their networks, by shaping the pool from which they draw, and the ease with which they can sustain, their relations' (Fischer 1982:5). It is this residential community that is relevant to our study of neighbourhood. The empirical work will seek to measure the extent of networks, as one of the components of social capital, within the neighbourhood. Social networks are equivalent to social ties, and as social ties increase, the extent to which one falls under informal social controls increases. When 'personal ties

unravel, social control weakens and individuals are 'released' to act aberrantly' (Fischer 1982:64).

For Fischer the density of ties has significant consequences, 'the more interconnected a set of people, the more easily they can communicate and act' (Fischer 1982:149). For him density was important, and the decrease in density that he observed in his study was a bad thing, resulting from modern living where networks were less dense and individuals less inter-connected as technology made all sorts of different relationships and networks possible.

Against this back-drop of dense networks the work of Granovetter (1973) and his distinction between weak and strong ties is not only attractive but temporally relevant. Strong ties are found within immediate family, close friends and neighbours (Fischer's dense networks of inter-connectedness), whereas weak ties exist between colleagues and acquaintances. He found that it was weak ties that were the most significant for people, enabling them to reach out of their world and into the worlds of others. This distinction between weak and strong ties is relevant to Putnam's distinction between bridging and bonding capital. For Putnam bonding capital relates to the networks that are found within a group, this is not dissimilar to strong ties. The case study work, discussed in the second part of the thesis, revealed that these type of networks are like strong ties and are not as useful as 'weak ties', or bridging capital. In many ways the qualitative case study work supports Granovetter's findings that weak ties are the most important type of tie or network in order for people to move out of their environment and to succeed in different areas of life. Furthermore, the case study work found that where strong ties exist (in other words bonding capital), they may exist at the expense of weak ties or bridging capital and will have important implications for access to external resources. Burt has used the term structural holes to describe the absence of ties within networks.

2. Burt and Structural hole theory

Social capital and networks has been explored further and explicitly by Ronald Burt, in work that is rooted in his work on structural holes (1997).

The structural hole argument defines social capital in terms of the information and control advantages of being the broker in relations between people otherwise disconnected with the social structure (Burt 1997:340).

'Networks with many structural holes (the absence of ties within networks) produce entrepreneurial or competitive motivations, whereas those with cohesive or dense ties produce co-operative motives and may engender a sense of community among network members' (Kadushkin 2002: 77). Kadushkin suggests that people need to feel safe in order to feel able to pursue new challenges. If their networks extend to different areas, then they will feel empowered and sufficiently efficacious to pursue goals in that direction.

Kadushkin further observes that structural hole theory builds upon ideas found within Durkheim and Simmel,

Density and cohesions are identified, in his counter-intuitive formulation, with the 'mechanical solidarity' of traditional societies, while 'organic solidarity', a situation replete with holes, requires, as he points out in his famous Preface to the Second Edition, additional effort to create cohesive situations. Simmel's cross-cutting circles (Simmel 1922) can be viewed as an argument that individuals in a metropolis create their own mix of communities whose sole point of contact may be the focal individual. Creating community in modern societies requires talents more conventionally associated with brokerage and structural holes, since communities are created through the agency of talented individuals making connections across hitherto unconnected nodes (Kadushkin 2002:80).

Structural hole theory draws a distinction between cohesive and trusting networks, like the strong ties of Granovetter, which are good for support and provide access to basic emotional resources, and the structural holes which fulfil a different purpose. Trust is not a pre-requisite for structural holes as it is for cohesive networks. Instead structural holes are there to be manipulated by the individual to achieve certain ends, they 'are not for satisfying present needs, but for creating change and movement [..] although the broker must rely on at least some trusted partners, trust cannot be the sole motivator because it is not present throughout the network, only in parts of it' (Kadushkin 2002:86).

For Burt 'social capital is a metaphor about advantage' (Burt 2000b:356), it is,

the contextual complement to human capital. The social capital metaphor is that the people who do better are somehow better connected. Certain people of certain groups are connected to certain others, trusting certain others, obligated to support certain others, dependent on exchange with certain others. Holding a certain position in the structure of these exchanges can be an asset in its own right. That asset is social capital, in essence, a concept of location effects in differentiated markets (Burt 2000b:347).

This is why trust is crucial within social capital theory, although it is not theorised about at length by any of the key theorists. Social capital can be either bridging or bonding, but the measurement of each will differ.

Association between performance and network constraint is a summary test between the two leading network mechanisms argued to provide social capital. More constrained networks span fewer structural holes, which means less social capital according to the hole argument. *If networks that span structural holes are the source of social capital, then performance should have a negative association with network constraint.* More constraint means more network closure, and so more social capital according to the closure argument. *If network closure is the source of social capital, then performance should have a positive association with constraint* (Burt 2000b:373).⁸

An outsider who intends to bridge structural holes requires a broker. It is the inequality of access to brokers that provides the inequality in the distribution of social capital. In Burt's words, 'social capital is a function of direct or indirect access to brokerage across structural holes' (Burt 2000b:409). Neither Coleman, Putnam or Fukuyama acknowledge this inequality within the distribution of social capital. They have removed social capital from the political context within which it must operate and risk perpetuating such inequalities by this omission.

3. Social capital's response – bridging and bonding capital

In an effort to distinguish between the helpful forms of social capital and the harmful Putnam has suggested that there are two types; bridging and bonding. Where bonding social capital is good for under-girding specific reciprocity and mobilising solidarity [...] bridging networks, by contrast, are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion' (Putnam 2001:22). This is a regurgitation, or a re-theorising of Granovetter's (1973) argument that it is 'weak social ties' that help us to succeed and get on in life. Putnam suggests that it is bridging social capital that can broaden our identities and our horizons, where bonding capital keeps us tethered fairly close to our roots and the narrowness of our own experiences – bonding is 'superglue' compared to the 'WD-40' of bridging capital (Putnam 2001:23). It is very useful and important distinction, not only as it offers two dimensions, but it also realistically reflects the number or possibilities that may occur within a neighbourhood and whether the type of social capital is helpful or harmful, productive or counter-productive. It would be inadequate to simply acknowledge the different types

⁸ Italics author's own.

present, without seeking to understand how they affect the levels of collective efficacy. It appears that to solve the biggest collective problems faced today, it is the harder bridging capital that we need to create.

4. The horizontal and vertical dimension

While the work of Putnam and Coleman fails to appreciate the importance of the social and fails to locate social capital within the political and social context where it is found, they do highlight the importance of various forms of association. An appreciation of social capital within neighbourhoods requires a return to the idea of vertical and horizontal links, as mentioned earlier, within and without the community. In this way some attempt is made to address the failings of social capital theory as commonly applied in the realm of policy, by acknowledging the horizontal and vertical dimensions, particularly by acknowledging that the vertical dimension is always one of hierarchy, and thus power. The stocks of social capital are affected by the strength and nature of such relations, but the ability of a community to gain resources to social capital will be affected to a greater extent still.

The horizontal links refer to the relations that operate within the community, the internal networks, familial and friendship ties, the local community organisations and the local church, primary schools and day care centres, for young and old. As social capital is relational and structural, it will reside in these relationships and also in the structures that have been built within the community. However, in addition, I want to suggest that these stocks of social capital, as a usable resource, are filtered through the communities vertical relations, and that these vertical relations, or networks may play a mediatory role. For example, if a neighbourhood wants to do something about the amount of drug-using equipment littering an area, the existence of social capital will not guarantee that something is done. Rather the existing resource of social capital, the trust and networks and norms, will mean that when a neighbourhood decides that something in particular should be done, in this case perhaps publicity and a targeted campaign, the social capital is tapped into and becomes activated. It is the specific goal that is to be attained that transforms the social capital into the specific and particular action. This is where Sampson found the concept of collective efficacy appealing, as it did something which he felt social capital did not. However

in addition to this an appreciation of vertical and horizontal relations, or bridging and bonding capital, is necessary. The quality of the neighbourhood's relations with various organisations, agencies and other structures outwith the neighbourhood, acts as a medium through which the stocks of social capital pass through and which then determine how well a neighbourhood will be able to utilise its stocks of social capital.

Boix and Posner have suggested that, 'a community's co-operative capacity is a function of the degree of social and political inequality it has experienced over the course of its historical development' (Boix 1998:2). If a community's ability to co-operate is determined by the levels of social capital, or rather their levels of trust, this in turn is determined by how they have experienced trust relations outwith the community. Applying Hope's vertical and horizontal distinction (1995), relations that are outwith the community, which have determined the political equality or inequality which the neighbourhood experiences, can be classified as vertical relations. The quality of the horizontal relations within the community, in which the stocks of social capital and trust reside, are greatly affected by these vertical relations and how they experience trust through them. If there is resentment in the neighbourhood towards certain agencies or organisations, there will be a reluctance to utilise them, or access the additional resources which would in turn enable them to mobilise their existing stocks of social capital within the neighbourhood. This has serious ramifications for the importance of creating networks which reach outside of the neighbourhood, and serious consequences for how those networks are managed and maintained. It appears that there may be dis-proportionate resources poured into creating facilities and building networks within neighbourhoods, when it is the external networks that help these to be mobilised and utilised to their full.

Putnam's account of the Italian situation took little account of how the south and north experienced vertical relations. Indeed this is an idea that has not really been dealt with in the social capital literature. Boix and Posner feel that there has been an aggregation problem in the social capital literature, where theory has failed to specify 'the logic of the micro-linkages that tie a community's co-operative capacity to the achievement of good government' (Boix 1998:7). They write that the more actively

one participates in the community, the more civic one becomes and the more aware of political issues which produces a better political consumer and a more effective monitor of community affairs. In other words 'the more civic a community, the better able its citizens will be to overcome the collective action dilemma which stands in the way of organising groups capable of articulating their interests to the government' (Boix 1998:8).

H. The role of norms

Although social capital is most often discussed in terms of trust and networks, Putnam's third criterion, norms, is seldom discussed in the same depth. The problem with the component 'norms', as Schuller et al (2000:14) write is that they 'are so general, and their use is so often rhetorical' that it is difficult to effectively summarise their use. This is a difficulty that extends to the empirical work, as will be discussed in chapter 4.

There has been much discussion about 'norms' and how 'they bind communities together and are tightly enforced by them, sharply limiting the kinds of choices people can make about their lives' (Fukuyama 2000:147-8). Perhaps the best known work on norms is by Emile Durkheim who argued that the formal apparatus of the criminal justice system served to clarify and reinforce what the rights and wrongs of society were, in other words, what the norms were. The collective consciousness was reinforced by the existence and acknowledgements of some acts as criminal. Anomie was found when there existed a 'normlessness', a state of deficient moral regulation, where the only way to achieve success was through the use of illegitimate means, as the legitimate way to achieve such ends was barred, usually due to the existence of unequal opportunities. For Durkheim norms were determined, 'purposes and aspirations were shaped by the generalised opinions and reactions of others, by a collective conscience, that can appear through social ritual and routine to be externally derived, solid, and objective' (Rock 1997:238).

Fukuyama discusses norms the way other authors discuss the specific norm of trust. For him, norms are what make living in this risky world possible; man could not

make rational decisions about every life choice without norms, for example getting on buses, or tipping waiters. Norms are useful as they circumvent the requirement of rational decision making, allowing the individual to act in certain ways. If there were no norms, rules would have to be constantly negotiated and re-negotiated. After all it seems that rules can be understood as the explicit expression of implicit standards, norms. Fukuyama helpfully discusses culture in terms of ‘shared practices’ and it seems that norms cannot be looked at in without contextualising them culturally.

It seems that norms and trust, or ‘shared practices’, are more closely aligned than the key writers demonstrate. After all trust is simply a norm, and therefore in all the discussions pertaining to trust, what is being discussed at base level are norms. Like the key writers, this chapter has devoted more discussion to the area of trust, although it is noted that in discussing trust, we also further discuss norms.

Conclusion

Social capital is a complex concept, with a danger of becoming useless as a result of its transferability and lack of definitional clarity and depth. This thesis argues that a response should be made to the increased use of social capital within criminology, particularly within the area of neighbourhood and crime. It investigates the hypothesis that if social capital is fully mobilised, it is capable of providing a rich theoretical standpoint. A full mobilisation of the concept requires an appreciation of the lack of political contextualisation currently contained within the concept, combated by an understanding of the bridging/ bonding distinction and an application of Hope’s vertical and horizontal dimension. The thesis acknowledges that collective efficacy brings something to the debate and advocates the joining of the concepts for a combined theoretical framework, providing justification for the development of an ecometrics; a set of instruments enabling the systematic measurement of neighbourhood processes and dynamics. The following chapter discusses the challenges, both theoretical and empirical, presented by this bi-conceptual approach.

CHAPTER 3: THE CHALLENGES OF OPERATIONALISATION AND METHOD; TOWARDS AN ECOMETRICS

Introduction

Operationalisation and method are closely connected and interdependent. The concepts that are currently being used in this study, and others before it, are complex and, as demonstrated in chapter 2, require careful consideration before they can be operationalised. This thesis explores neighbourhood and crime partly in response to the discussion of social capital and collective efficacy in Sampson and others. The methodology and subsequent thesis emerged from exploring these questions and attempts to investigate the appropriateness of previous theoretical frameworks, with the hope that by doing so they may be refined and improved. This research reflects and refines previous frameworks rather than advocating them as such.

This chapter is concerned with operationalising the concepts of social capital and collective efficacy, in order to make them 'measurable'. The mobilisation of these concepts requires the development of detailed typologies, based partly on existing literature but also informed by the theoretical discussion found in Chapter 2. The selected methodology, combining quantitative and qualitative methods, in the use of a neighbourhood survey and a detailed case study is presented and explained. Each methodological approach provides a different way of measuring the processes at work within the neighbourhood, necessitating a discussion of the measures used within the different methods.

This chapter begins with the mobilisation of social capital and collective efficacy, before moving on to look at the quantitative method and measures used, contextualising the research against previous research carried out in this area and also against the backdrop of the Edinburgh Youth Study (ESYTC). This is then followed by a discussion of the ethnographic techniques used in the case study. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are critiqued, offering a brief summary of their limitations within this study.

A. Social capital

Typically social capital is discussed with reference to levels of trusts, networks and shared norms (Putnam 1995). There is such a lack of consensus about what the term social capital actually means that it is difficult to present the various ways it has been operationalised in the past (Van Deth 2003:81). There is agreement that social capital is either cultural, i.e. norms and trusts, or structural, i.e. networks. Indicators such as ‘do you think people can be trusted’ (WVS 1991), or voting histories have been widely used on a large scale. Such an approach appears unsatisfactory as the complexity of norms and networks require detailed understanding, not achievable through those sorts of closed-ended questions. Yet as Van Deth noted,

the field seems to be characterised by several orthodoxies mainly related to the dominant position of polling methods and the use of straightforward survey questions. [...] what is urgently needed, then, is the use of multi-method and multilevel strategies in order to strengthen the role of empirical evidence in debates on social capital and citizenship (Van Deth 2003:89).

Although Van Deth correctly notes that multi-method and multilevel strategies are critical, he fails to delineate how this might happen, and he omits qualitative methods from his discussion (Devine and Roberts 2003). This is a significant oversight as qualitative research is far better positioned to explore the processes which create social capital.

A recent piece of research carried out in Scotland looking at registered Social Landlords adopted a range of research techniques, all qualitative. They developed a typology of the domains of social capital, as seen in Table 3.1 (Burns & Forrest et al 2001). They argued that social capital had suffered from inadequate operationalisation and attempted to overcome this problem in the construction of a detailed typology, including domains and descriptions of those domains.

Table 3.1: A typology of the domains of social capital.

SOURCE: (abridged version of *Table 3.1: A typology of the domains of social capital and the potential impact of RSLs on social capital* (Burns & Forrest et al 2001:13).

Domain	Description
Empowerment	That people feel they have a voice which is listened to, that they are involved in processes that affect them and that they can themselves take action to initiate changes
Participation	That people take part in social and community activities and in local decision making.
Association Activity and Common Purpose	That people co-operate with one another through the formation of formal and informal groups to further their individual and collective interests.
Supporting networks and reciprocity	That individuals and organisations co-operate to support one another for either mutual or one-sided gain. An expectation that help would be given to or received from others when needed.
Collective norms and values	That people share common values and norms of behaviour.
Trust	That people feel they can trust their co-residents, local organisations and authorities responsible for governing or serving their area.
Safety	That people feel safe in their local area and are not restricted in their use of public space by fear.
Belonging	That people feel connected to their co-residents and their home area. They have a sense of belonging to the place and its people.

This typology provides a good starting point for how social capital might be operationalised within the Edinburgh neighbourhood study. Obviously the research aim is to explore neighbourhood and how that might affect or be affected by levels of crime and criminality, rather than the impact of Registered Social Landlords, but the typology remains relevant. However, for the purposes of our research it is incomplete. The literature discussed within Chapter 2, particularly the distinction between bridging and bonding capital (Putnam 2001) and the vertical and horizontal dimensions within neighbourhood (Hope 1995) is not addressed within the typology developed by Burns and Forrest (2001). Within the typology contained in Table 3.1 there is no space for the strength and reach of inter-agency ties – ‘associational networks’. Additionally, the domain ‘belonging’ needs to be broken down further, to include notions of ‘identity’ and ‘territorialism’. The participation domain may be better addressed within the concept of collective efficacy, as will empowerment.

Detailed exploration of the literature on social capital demanded that improvements and additions be made to this typology, in order to fully operationalise the concept of social capital (see Table 3.2). Table 3.2 replaces Table 3.1, being more detailed and more complete for the purposes of measuring the concept of social capital in this research. Furthermore Table 3.2 contains Indicators of the domains, it is these indicators that will be measured in the empirical work.

Table 3.2: A typology of social capital; the domains and indicators of social capital

Domain	Description	Indicators
Associational networks	That agencies at work within the neighbourhoods and area are working with each other. Includes the police and the various churches and other agencies and organisations.	Level of inter-agency partnership, general relations and awareness of other agencies and organisations, including the social landlords and the police.
Networks and reciprocity	That individuals co-operate to support one another for either mutual or one-sided gain. An expectation that help would be given to or received from others when needed.	Existence of networks within neighbourhoods, specifically relations with neighbours. Presence of family and friends in vicinity. Recognition of reciprocation between friends and neighbours.
Collective norms and values	That people share common values and norms of behaviour.	Recognition that 'people around here are like me', specifically in relation to parenting and employment, contentment with neighbourhood.
Trust	That people feel they can trust their co-residents, local organisations and authorities responsible for governing or serving their area.	Levels of trust between neighbours and those agencies and organisations, including the police, that are working within the neighbourhoods and the areas.
Safety	That people feel safe in their local area and are not restricted in their use of public space by fear.	Perceptions of crime and danger within the neighbourhood and larger area. Use of space, day and night, and how that is affected by levels of fear.
Belonging and identity	That people feel connected to their co-residents and their home area. They have a sense of belonging to the place and its people.	How people perceive the reputation of the area, and how they respond to that. What area or neighbourhood they identify themselves with. Degree of

territorialism in the area and in their neighbourhood.

B. Collective efficacy

Collective efficacy has been much discussed within its native discipline of psychology, where researchers have developed a range of instruments for its measurement. However within criminology it is alien, with the exception of work done by Sampson & Morenoff (1999). They argue that collective efficacy offers a way of measuring the existence of social capital. By arguing that collective efficacy is task specific and social capital is not, they advocate adopting both concepts in their development of an ecometrics (the concept of an ecometrics will be discussed in detail later in this chapter). In order to explore this claim and develop a more thorough instrumentalisation of collective efficacy, the following typology, again, informed by the extensive literature review contained within Chapter 2, was devised.

Table 3.3: Typology of the domains of collective efficacy.

Domain	Description
Self efficacy	Perceptions of the individual of individual capability, supported by examples of participation on level of self, or examples of non-participation.
Belief in collective	How the collective is viewed; in terms of chances of success, key players and shared goals.
Participation and common purpose	At level of neighbourhood or another level, in decision making, or activities toward a shared goal.
Wins	At the level of the neighbourhood, instances of successful outcomes resulting from collective efforts.

It was hypothesised that the levels of social capital found within the Edinburgh neighbourhoods would contribute directly to the amount of collective efficacy within the neighbourhood, i.e. the more social capital observed, the more collective efficacy there would be. During fieldwork it was observed that this was a simplistic equation. *It was not the amount of social capital, but the type of social capital that was most relevant to the degree of collective efficacy demonstrated within the neighbourhood.*

It was clear throughout the case study research that the theorised distinction between ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ social capital was extremely relevant. This finding was so important that the typology was returned to and was further developed in order to reflect the true nature of social capital.

As with the concept of social capital there needs to be development before the domains of collective efficacy are capable of being measured through research. This development is seen in the development of Table 3.3 into Table 3.4. Table 3.4 includes measurable indicators and is seen below.

Table 3.4: A typology of collective efficacy; the domains and indicators

Domain	Description	Indicators
Self efficacy	Perceptions of individual capability, supported by examples of participation on level of self, or examples of non-participation.	Incidences of activism and lobbying done at an individual level. Initiatives and groups set up by individual.
Belief	How the collective is viewed; in terms of chances of success, key players, and shared goals.	Whether the individual perceives the collective to be likely to succeed, i.e. both in the past and in the future. Whether they can see themselves as part of that group.
Participation and common purpose	At level of neighbourhood or another level, in decision making, or activities toward a shared goal.	Level of involvement, or awareness of involvement within neighbourhood, through neighbourhood councils, or other agencies and informal groups.
Wins	At the level of the neighbourhood, instances of successful outcomes resulting from collective efforts.	Examples of successful instances of collective efficacy.

C. The need for a responsive methodology

No one research instrument will be able to measure all of the indicators discussed above. For instance, the use of a large scale survey alone will not be able to adequately capture levels of trust, and simple yes/ no answers have too often been used to answer these sorts of questions. In the past trust has often been measured by

questions on voting patterns and how individuals feel about their government (for example within the World Values Survey). This sort of approach is unable to bring anything to the social capital and neighbourhood debate. This particular indicator of trust (and others like it) can best be accessed through an ethnographic approach, where the subject is able to contextualise their answer and provide a richer understanding. Equally the use of costly qualitative methods alone will not be able to provide enough data on which statistical analysis may be done. For such statistical analysis, a large scale survey is the better instrument. In other words, a combination of methods is required to enable triangulation. A large scale survey will provide material for statistical analysis and the case study will allow further exploration of some topics, particularly those topics that may be difficult to access through closed questions. One without the other is far less valuable, and far less valid. The use of a mixed method in tackling social capital is unusual, combining statistical findings with qualitative data, but this thesis argues it is much needed. Rather than presenting any sort of compromise to either approach it is argued that the findings are increased in robustness through the possibility of dovetailing methods, where weaknesses of one method are addressed by the strengths of the other. As Devine and Roberts note,

There is nothing wrong [...] in knowing the same thing in different ways and acquiring that substantive knowledge through the use of different levels of abstraction and research methodologies (Devine and Roberts 2003:98).

The rest of the chapter will discuss the different methods, the neighbourhood survey and the neighbourhood case study, and the measures used, outlining their strengths and any problems encountered in the field.

1. Previous Research

Much of criminological research in this area has tended to focus on individual crime rates or neighbourhood crime rates, just as most research has only looked at individual contexts or neighbourhood contexts. This seems counter-intuitive to the basic assumption, made by criminologist and non criminologist alike, that crime and criminality is affected by place as well as personhood. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the steps taken in the development of an ecometrics, whilst acknowledging the current theoretical trends within this area, namely social capital

and collective efficacy. I want to suggest that to justify the use of social capital within this field, it is fundamental that it is understood to mean something more than merely trust and collective efficacy should mean more than simply informal social control. So while this chapter explores collective efficacy and affirms the 'intuitive appeal' (Morenoff 2001:2) of social capital, it seeks to define and re-fine them within the pragmatic context of an 'ecometrics': a set of measures of various community dynamics and processes operating at the neighbourhood level. This will then enable individual and neighbourhood level factors to be subsequently assessed in terms of their predictive powers for individual level delinquency, using both official statistics and self reported data. Before looking at how this research has approached this question in the past, let us turn briefly to look at how it has been done previously.

It was Robinson (1950) who first observed that associations found at the social or ecological level may be misleading if applied at the individual level. This became known as the 'ecological fallacy'. Gottfredson et al (1991) much later observed that there is a difference between compositional explanations and contextual explanations,

[a] contextual explanation involves the proposition that the social organisation of an area influences the individuals who inhabit it, such as might occur as a community loses control over its inhabitants. A compositional explanation involves the proposition that the differences in crime rates in different areas are a result of the aggregate characteristics of the individuals who inhabit the areas such as might occur if a community recruits crime-prone people (Gottfredson et al 1991:201).

The research that will be discussed later in this chapter was designed to embrace both of these explanations, but specifically to enable the un-covering of the contextual explanation in the city of Edinburgh, whilst remaining sensitive to the problems of 'ecological fallacy'.

In 1961 Reiss and Rhodes looked at the official delinquency rates for over 9000 adolescent white males, enrolled in 39 different schools (public, private or parochial) in Nashville. They looked at seven different socio-economic categories (socio-status structure) and used a three category measurement of fathers socio-economic status. They found that the structure variable had the greatest effect on rate of delinquency. When Gottfredson et al (1991) re-examined the data using multiple regression

although they found that delinquency tends to be more a function of school status than of individual status, they also found that neither status variable was able to explain much of the variation in individual delinquency. Indeed, the standardized regression coefficients of delinquency on the two status measures were $-.02$ (not significant) for the individual and $-.08$ ($p < .01$) for the school measure.

Johnston (1978) carried out research on 1237 teens living in 221 different census tracts in Chicago, looking at different types of delinquency, along with a census tract measure of SES and a familial measure of SES. The results suggested that different models were needed to fit different types of offence. So, for serious property offences and self-reported arrest the model that was the best fit, included family socioeconomic status, but did not include community status, while the model for aggressive offences assumed the effects of family and community status were cumulative. Gottfredson et al (1991) observed that the results of Johnston did not accord with those of Reiss and Rhodes, 'raising interest[ing] questions about interactions between individual and area status and about the possibility that different models fit different crime types' (Gottfredson et al 1991:202).

Such studies have not provided much evidence to support the contextual effects argument. Indeed there is a danger that the methodology maybe prone to the 'contextual fallacy' (Hauser 1970a – taken from Gottfredson et al 1991). This is relevant as,

the extent that important individual-level predictors of the outcome of interest which are excluded from the model are correlated with the aggregate-level measure, the contextual effect is overestimated (Gottfredson et al 1991:203).

So, when these predictors are left out of the model and the contextual effects have a significantly predictive effect on the outcome variable, Gottfredson argues that this is the contextual fallacy rather than the true picture. Simcha-Fagan and Schartz (1986) studied over 500 teenage males in 12 New York neighbourhoods, looking at official and self reported data and economic and organisational status of family. They used census based data and also community measures that were informed by interviewing within the communities. Four dimensions of community effects were studied; residential stability, economic level, community organisation, participation and

criminal subculture. These community effects were studied alongside three different measures of delinquency.

They found that these dimensions together accounted for large amounts of variance, between-community, in the aggregated measures of official delinquency, self-reported delinquency, and severe self-reported delinquency – 80, 50 and 26% respectively. However when they looked at individual levels of offending the amount of variance that these community level dimensions explained was reduced to between 2-4%. They concluded that ‘community effects on delinquency are to a large extent mediated by other family-level and individual-level variables’ (Peebles and Loeber 1994:144).

Gottfredson et al (1991) observed that all previous research had failed to discern which area characteristics might influence delinquency and whether that influence was compositional or contextual. They were interested in the effect of community dimensions on males and females. Their study had three measures of delinquency behaviour and two community dimensions, which were community disorganisation and affluence/ education (two variables derived from aggregation of census level variables and subsequent factor analysis). They used multiple regression modelling, first regressing each of the delinquency measures on the area factors and the individual background measures, then adding the measures of the theoretical intervening variables.

They found that higher affluence/education was positively related to self-reported theft and vandalism for males although it was not related to drug involvement or interpersonal aggression. Increased levels of community disorganisation were related to interpersonal aggression, but this relationship diminished when individual background measures were taken into consideration. The individual background measures which were most influential here were parental education, student’s age and race. When more mediating theoretical variables were added in, for example, peer influence, parental supervision, and school attachment, the relationship became smaller still.

They concluded that 'the assumption that community characteristics explain much of the difference among individuals in criminal behaviour no longer seems tenable' (Gottfredson et al 1991:221), with community factors accounting for less than 2% of the variation in delinquency, concluding that most of the variation must be accounted for by factors other than community characteristics.

Work done within the Pittsburgh study has suggested that whilst boys hyperactivity and parental supervision were the strongest correlates of delinquency, once such individual factors were controlled for, residence in underclass neighbourhoods was significantly related to delinquency (Peeples and Loeber 1994). Again they used three measures of delinquency, both official and self reported, and four community effects dimensions (residential stability, economic level, community organisation and community participation), and one factor called 'underclass' which was extracted from six ecological variables, based upon Wilson's work (1987). They studied 506 adolescent males from 88 neighbourhoods, made up of between 1-7 census tracts. HLM suggested that community effects on delinquency were largely mediated by other family and individual level effects. Amongst limitations noted by the authors was the failure to explore theoretical issues such as informal and formal social control and networks, in relation to community effects and crime.

Elliott et al (1996) observed that there was a tendency to concentrate on official statistics in this type of environmental criminology. He also observed that when self reported data is used the resulting relationship between ecological factors and delinquency tends to be weaker. Still for Elliott, 'the neighbourhood is seen as a transactional setting that influences individual behaviour and development both directly and indirectly (Elliott et al 1996:391).

The measurements used by Elliott are the most comprehensive to date, in the research in this area. Part of the methodological approach used involved the use of factor analysis, enabling the underlying factors, shared by the various neighbourhood processes, to be discovered. A large number of variables were entered into factor

analysis and were found to load onto three different factors. These factors were then used in the statistical analysis, they were as follows,

Factor 1: Informal Control – composed of four sub scales: mutual respect; institutional controls; social controls; neighbourhood bonding.

Factor 2: Social integration - neighbourhood social organisation; informal activity; social support; number of children known by name.

Factor 3: Informal networks – built from the proportion of friends and number of relatives or family members who live in the neighbourhood.

Hierarchical linear models were used to look at between neighbourhood and within neighbourhood levels, enabling exploration of possible interdependence among observations, something that traditional regression models do not allow (Bryk and Raudenbush 1992). This allowed separate estimation of effects at different levels, which takes away the possibility that neighbourhood effects are actually just individual level characteristics varying across neighbourhoods. In other words it allows a contextual exploration of the data, rather than simply a compositional approach.

The most recent work done in this area has been carried out in Chicago, within the framework of the Chicago Neighbourhood Project, headed by Robert Sampson. This impressive piece of research has been instrumental in informing the direction the current research has taken, drawing on both the strengths of the study and also its shortcomings. They deliberately included two neglected dimensions of neighbourhood context - social processes and spatial interdependence, whilst looking at homicide rates across 343 neighbourhoods within Chicago.

Each neighbourhood was made up of a number of census output areas, each with a population of about 8,000, making them smaller than the 88 neighbourhoods which the city is traditionally deemed to have. The theoretical framework was informed by the concepts of collective efficacy and social capital. In the discussion of the concepts Sampson observes that collective efficacy is the culmination, or the evidence of social capital. Whilst noting that they are similar concepts, social capital is non-specific, while collective efficacy is task specific (Sampson 1999). In terms of

operationalising the concepts, collective efficacy was understood as a sum of the social control scale and the 'neighbourliness' scale, while social capital related to organisational links and strength of trust. It was found that concentrated disadvantage, along with low levels of social control and cohesion, predicted higher rates of homicide. They were surprised to find that institutional strength, the density of local organisations and voluntary associations was only important to the extent which it enabled informal social controls and networks to be fostered and increased (Morenoff et al 2001).

Earlier work done in Chicago (Sampson et al 1997) suggested that three elements of neighbourhood structure, together, explained 70% of variation in violent crime between neighbourhoods. These were; concentrated disadvantage, immigration concentration and residential stability. But, collective efficacy, in turn, explained much of the association between these variables and violence. Collective efficacy, therefore was an important mediating variable between variables of neighbourhood deprivation and violence. In other words, neighbourhood effects were held to be important.

1.1 Understanding the Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study and previous research

The current research carries on from the Sampson et al. approach in Chicago. The design of the neighbourhood study, within the Edinburgh study manages to address one of the most significant shortcomings of each of the studies mentioned above, namely the size of the neighbourhoods. Edinburgh was split into 91 neighbourhoods, each with a population of approximately 5,000 .

Not only has an attempt been made to rectify some of the methodological shortcomings of the Chicago neighbourhood project, there are also some flaws connected to the theoretical framework they have been working within. There are a number of things which the Chicago Study has failed to do. Firstly, the operationalisation of the concepts seems to be slightly disjunctive with the discussions of their theoretical meaning. Collective efficacy, originally theorised by

Bandura (1986), is a complex concept, involving an interactive process between real and perceived amounts of efficacy, both of the collective and the self. It seems that there is inadequate acknowledgement of this complexity, where it has been mobilised to mean informal self control. A more complete understanding of collective efficacy is necessary if it is to be of utility in this area.

Additionally there are problems with the way that social capital has been measured. The use of organisational strength and levels of trust provides an inadequate mobilisation of the concept. Social capital consists of many elements, as outlined in the typologies earlier in this chapter. The Chicago work observes that the sources of social capital do not stem from the individual but from the structure of the social organisation, and thus it is clearly connected with systemic social disorganisation (Bursik 1999). They hold that 'neighbourhoods bereft of social capital (e.g. interlocking social networks) are less able to realise common values and maintain the informal social controls that foster safety' (Morenoff et al 2001:2).

2. The Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study

2.1 Advantages of working within the Edinburgh Youth Study framework

In early discussions pertaining to the study design it was decided to use a single city, Edinburgh, as the location of the sample. The use of complex sampling points dispersed throughout Scotland, in an effort to capture diversity and enable generalisability of results was originally mooted, but was rejected in favour of using one place. It was felt that the use of a multi-site sample may render groups of young people inadequate in size to allow statistical analysis at the neighbourhood level. Furthermore, it was considered that the organisational costs would be considerable and unnecessary. The final design advocated the use of a single site, Edinburgh, and a whole one-year cohort of young people in their first year of secondary school (see Smith and McVie 2003 for further discussion). Objections of unrepresentativeness raised by using a single city were outweighed by advantages in efficiency, in terms of finances and organisation interactions. Certainly when compared with the approach adopted in the Chicago Project, the Edinburgh Study is attractive in its

simplicity and efficiency of design (see Tonry et al. 1991 for a discussion of the accelerated longitudinal design adopted in the Chicago Study).

Due to the size of the study and the complexity and variety of its aims, there are a number of important advantages that result from working within its framework. An on-going relationship with the Lothian and Borders Police force has meant that access is readily available to the recorded crime statistics across the city. The research team was able to geo-code the crimes and assign them to the appropriate neighbourhoods with the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS). The designated neighbourhoods are the consequence of considerable work exploring the social geography of the city.

In addition to access to the official crime figures for each neighbourhood, there is a self-reported figure for each neighbourhood. This comes from a range of questions asked in each sweep about the young person's offending habits and can then be aggregated to the neighbourhood level, enabling the assigning of a mean value for each neighbourhood.

2.2 The development of the neighbourhoods

The cohort contains approximately 4,300 young people, living within Edinburgh. The study team divided Edinburgh into 91 neighbourhoods, taking into consideration a wide range of factors. The decision to have 91 neighbourhoods was determined by two main considerations. The first, related to the issue of statistical power, required that there be adequate cohort members living within each neighbourhood to enable statistical analysis on neighbourhood processes. The size of the neighbourhoods was a further consideration. The areas needed to encompass various processes and dynamics happening in neighbourhoods and that could only be correctly measured if the area resembled a 'neighbourhood' in the real sense of the term.

'Neighbourhood' is well summarised by Body-Gendrot in her study of the social control of cities in France,

For sociologists from the School of Chicago, such as Park, Burgess and others, the neighbourhood is a subpart of a larger entity that is, an aggregate of people and of institutions in a given space, influenced by ecological, cultural and political forces. In its ideal form, a neighbourhood is built on emotions, traditions, and a specific history, it is the basis of an informal social control and political organisation and remains the major site for the enforcement of safety in the public space. Social interaction and social networks are at the roots of its dynamics. Whether it is inserted in a wider entity on which it depends or not, it evokes an imbricated structure with moving boundaries, due to networks extending it indefinitely and to forces impacting on it (Body-Gendrot 2000:243).

It was decided originally that the definition of community would follow that of Wikstrom, 'the social and built environment of a common locality'. Neighbourhood was defined originally by the Study team as 'the area surrounding the individual's place of residence'. Within the present neighbourhood study, for both the quantitative and qualitative research, neighbourhood was defined as 'the area around where you live and around your house, or within about 15 minutes walk. It may include your local shop, church and primary school. It is the general area around where you do your day-to-day activities like buying milk and bread, or popping in to see your neighbours' (Neighbourhood Survey 2002:2).

Taking the above into account, it was decided to have approximately 80 neighbourhoods, allowing approximately 50 cohort members per neighbourhood, and with a city wide population of 420,000, it also meant that each neighbourhood had about 5,000 residents. It was considered important to keep the populations fairly constant and therefore the actual geographical size of the neighbourhoods varied considerably. The size of the population at 5,000 is considerably smaller than the size of the neighbourhoods used in the Chicago Project, with populations closer to 8,000. This is a significant difference, which hopefully has resulted in a more appropriate unit within which to explore neighbourhood processes and dynamics.

Like the Chicago Project, a real attempt was made to identify 'geographically contiguous tracts that were internally homogenous on key census indicators' (Sampson et al 1988). So rather than simply allot contiguous census output areas automatically into neighbourhoods, it was decided that 'if the boundaries correspond[ed] to the socio-spatial units within which these structures and mechanisms operate, then the findings will be more clear-cut than if they [were]

chosen arbitrarily’ (Smith et al. 2001:169). Boundaries were selected to maximise the homogeneity of neighbourhoods, and therefore also maximising the contrasts between the neighbourhoods. There was also an effort made to match the neighbourhoods as far as possible with perceptions of neighbourhood identities, local knowledge and physical features.

An index of socio-economic stress was developed, using six census variables, as seen in Table 3.5. This model was an adaptation of Wikstrom’s model of classification of urban area using four different groups of characteristic variables (1995). A composite score was calculated for each census output area by standardising the variables into z scores and then adding them together. In order to produce around 80 neighbourhoods these output areas then needed to be grouped in contiguous clusters of around 45, in such a way as to achieve homogeneity in levels of socio-economic stress. Tentative boundaries were drawn, and then further alterations were made through the application of local knowledge and geographical fact, i.e. Ordnance Survey maps. The final result was 91 neighbourhoods, an example of such a map is seen in Appendix 5.

Table 3.5: Variables used to construct the index of social and economic stress

SOURCE: Smith et al 2001:170

Type of area characteristic ¹			
Demographic	Household	Housing	Socio-economic
% of population who have lived in the area for less than 12 months	% of households consisting of lone parents and children	% of households in local authority housing	% of the population who are unemployed
% of population aged 10-24	%of households overcrowded (>1person)		

¹ The selection of these area characteristics was a decision informed by the theoretical literature. Migrants – residential mobility is an important indicator of social stability within a neighbourhood and has been linked to informal social control. It is suggested that where a neighbourhood is in flux and fragmented there is less potential to create social capital, levels of trust and internal networks will be low and therefore levels of informal social control will be low.

2.3 Development of neighbourhood and criterion measures

In order to decide on the best questions to be included within the questionnaire it was necessary to be aware of what questions had been asked in the past in similar research, and also to be familiar with the breadth of research and questionnaire instruments that relate to or embrace the idea of community. This was a considerable task, covering a diversity of sources. Governmental and non-governmental questionnaires from America, England and Wales, Scotland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were looked at and questions were gathered. The questions were classified according to what they were trying to measure. A range of neighbourhood processes were covered in the questions, and the detailed typologies of social capital and collective efficacy were essential in demonstrating which indicators should be represented within the survey.

The budget provided for a questionnaire that would take twenty minutes on average to administer. Additional processes such as strength of volunteering, whilst included within the initial design, were taken out during final editing due to these time constraints. As part of that time would be taken up with the introduction, assessing whether the individual fulfilled the quota requirements and obtaining demographic information, the processes and questions to measure them were reduced to the minimum. This was a useful exercise in focusing the content of the questionnaire, both practically and theoretically.

The final questions were almost all adapted from other questionnaires. It was sensible to use questions that had already been used and had been tested and proved valid and reliable, thus preventing the need for the additional cost of a pilot exercise. The questions used, were taken or adapted from the following sources

- The Chicago Neighbourhood Study
- The Housing Attitude Survey
- Walklate and Evans (1999)
- Onyx and Bullen (2000)

- Baum et al 2000
- UK national Survey of Voluntary Activity 1991
- World Values Survey 1991
- Scottish Household Survey
- British Social Attitudes Survey
- Edinburgh Study Parent Survey

The typologies presented earlier, served to highlight the multi-stranded nature of the constructs. The next step was to identify the core elements of social capital and collective efficacy and find instruments with which to measure them. Constraints of resources and relevancy resulted in the selection of a number of domains considered to be adequate to represent the concepts. Literature in this area has suggested that indicators can only act as proxies for the concept, rather than being an actual representation of the concept itself (Lederman et al. 2000:9). There is a step however that needs to be taken before the indicators become measurements. It is first necessary to decide which elements of social capital and collective efficacy need to be measured and how they will be measured. The next section will outline the indicators chosen to become neighbourhood measures and relate those indicators back to the theoretical literature, highlighting why they are central to the concept and how they might affect the levels of crime and criminality within a neighbourhood.

2.4 Neighbourhood measures

i) Neighbourhood satisfaction.

Norms and shared cultural values play an important role in social capital theory. The research has typically measured 'norms' in widely varying ways. Indeed it would seem that it is immaterial what the 'norm' relates to, what is significant is the degree of shared opinion. This measure relates to the degree of neighbourhood satisfaction, but can also be seen as a measurement of norms, attempting to access the extent to which people feel satisfied with their neighbourhood, a pro-neighbourhood norm. The literature suggests that if people share values, it is more likely that they will be able to form relationships, that may then result in increased trust and participation within the neighbourhood. One example would be if people feel the same about the

state of the neighbourhood it might be that they will be more likely to work together to maintain or to affect change.

This scale was the sum of two variables. Respondents were asked how they would rate their neighbourhood as a place to live, and also whether, if they were able to, they would like to live in another neighbourhood. These two variables were added together to create a variable of total neighbourhood satisfaction. The Cronbach's alpha (a statistical measurement of reliability, hereafter referred to simply as Alpha) for the new scale created was 0.72.

ii) Informal social control

Collective efficacy as understood by Sampson et al. relates to the ability of a collective to organise themselves to work together to achieve a shared goal. This has typically been measured through an informal social control approach. The links between informal social control and crime are well rehearsed within criminological literature, maintaining that a neighbourhood that is able to informally 'police' an area will experience lower rates of crime and disorderly behaviour. Informal social control fits comfortably within social capital. It is a result of networks, shared norms, and the existence of trust. Saegert et al. suggest that Sampson's collective efficacy can be seen as bringing an agentic element to the social capital context (Saegert et al. 2002:191). This agentic element may be best explored through the bridging/ bonding distinction, however informal social control remains an important indicator of collective efficacy.

Respondents were given four scenarios that might occur within their neighbourhood and asked how likely it would be that they or their neighbours would take some sort of action. They included:

- a group of children truanting and hanging about on a street corner
- local children spraying graffiti on a local building
- someone being beaten up or threatened outside their house (i.e. would they break it up or call the police?)

- The closing down of the local primary school (how likely is it that the neighbourhood residents would organise to try to do something to keep the school open?).

These variables were added together. There was high internal reliability with an alpha of 0.73. These questions were taken from the Chicago Neighbourhood Project, although they were adapted to British English.

iii) Trust

Trust is central to the social capital literature, which presupposes that where trust is present in high levels, neighbours will automatically form networks of support and exercise informal social control, which should work to reduce crime within the neighbourhood. Trust empowers residents to stand up to threats and problems and to take part in associational activities (Saegert et al. 2002:191). The scale trust is made up of three variables added together. Respondents were asked whether in their neighbourhood people did things together and tried to help each other, whether they thought people in their neighbourhood could be trusted; and finally whether, if they had to borrow £20 in an emergency, they could borrow it from a neighbour. The internal reliability was high with an alpha of 0.72.

iv) Neighbourhood activism

The measure of neighbourhood activism relates to the amount of activity operating at the neighbourhood level, rather than at the individual level. This is a measure of stocks of social capital, i.e. social capital already in existence. Social capital theory posits that increased activity at the neighbourhood level will result in less crime through the active attempts of the collective to address issues and the relationships and networks that result from those attempts, which in turn facilitate an increase in informal social control. Activism at the neighbourhood level is also closely connected with collective efficacy, and could be understood as a measurement of collective efficacy, evidencing some overlap between the two concepts.

Respondents were asked whether there was a neighbourhood paper, a neighbourhood watch group, and a neighbourhood residents or tenants association. The internal reliability of this variable, was low at 0.37.

v) Neighbourhood provision

This is a measure of the facilities and amenities available to residents within a neighbourhood. The literature describes how networks are built through the availability of services and amenities locally. As mentioned in connection to some of the other measures, it is these networks that then enable informal social control to take place. The strength of the neighbourhood provision may also have a feedback effect on the strength of external networks (i.e. bridging capital), though this is difficult to measure in a survey of residents, and will be further explored in the case study. The extent of neighbourhood provision may also be an indicator of collective efficacy, where the facilities and amenities may be the result of a group of people acting together.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether certain facilities and groups were present within their neighbourhood, and the response was summed to create the variable.

vi) Activism

Individual activism is a proxy measure for networks. The networks created from the levels of activism will in turn facilitate an increase in informal social control and levels of trust. Furthermore, for an individual to be involved in activist activities implies a certain degree of self efficacy. Community activism is often a disheartening process, with as many failures as successes, for an individual to remain active requires a considerable stock of self efficacy, i.e. a belief that you can and will succeed.

Respondents were asked whether they had spoken to an elected local official about a neighbourhood problem or to a person or group causing a neighbourhood problem. They were also asked whether they had attended a tenants or residents meeting and if they had ever joined with other neighbours to do something about a neighbourhood problem or organise a neighbourhood improvement. These variables were summed, with an alpha of 0.6.

vii) Internal Networks

The third key component, after norms and trust, traditionally viewed as making up social capital is networks. This measure directly relates to networks at the individual, horizontal level, in other words this is a measure of how many people respondents know within their neighbourhood.

Respondents were asked how many of the adults and children that they saw in the neighbourhood would they recognise or know by sight. They were then asked how easy or difficult it was for them to pick out people who are outsiders or who obviously didn't live in the area. And if they saw a local child doing something wrong, how likely was it that they would know who their parents were. This had very high internal reliability with an alpha of 0.81.

viii) Norms

Much of the work on social capital draws heavily upon the existence and importance of norms and shared norms. However whilst people talk about shared norms and their importance there is very little literature on the subject of how to measure them and they often seem to be forgotten². Indeed there does not seem to be an accepted approach as to how they might best be measured. Although Sampson's social capital advocated the importance of shared norms the measure developed was not used in the statistical analyses carried out. Other studies have similarly failed to measure them. Likewise in this study it has been suggested that norms are an important part of social capital theory and although there were questions included in the survey to measure them, due to the low levels of internal reliability, they unfortunately could not be used in the more complex statistical techniques.

There is a further problem with the literature on norms. It seems that a distinction needs to be made between, firstly, what are the norms in a neighbourhood, and secondly, are people in agreement about those norms. Often people seem to slide between these two ideas, without adequately acknowledging their difference. If the aim were to measure shared norms there would need to be questions measuring what

2 The ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research website offers a 'question bank', listing numerous questions from several major surveys used in Britain over the last couple of decades. A search on social capital lists several components of the concept, for example networks, trust, neighbours, voluntary

the norms actually were and then there would need to be some sort of measure of sharing devised. This might be done by looking at standard deviations on the variables which measured the existence of norms. The standard deviations would assess how far people deviated from the norms, i.e. the degree to which the norms were not shared. This could then be inverted to represent the degree to which norms were shared.

As it was, four questions were asked to assess shared norms within neighbourhoods. Only two of them when summed had any internal reliability. The questionnaire asked whether the respondent agreed that for some crimes the death penalty should be brought back and whether they agreed that young people today don't have enough respect for traditional values. This variable was called 'authoritarian', had an alpha of 0.66.

ix) Sociability

Another measure of networks within the neighbourhood was developed within the notion of sociability. This measure however was not constrained to operating only within the neighbourhood and thus gave an indication of the location of people's networks.

Respondents were asked how often friends visited them or they had visited them. They were also asked how often they had been out in the afternoon or evening to socialise. These two variables were added together to create a variable with an alpha of 0.57.

x) Fear

Respondents were asked whether they felt unsafe during the day or the night. This was simply called fear.

xi) Crime

Respondents were asked if they had had their house broken into and something broken or damaged, as well as whether they had been physically assaulted or

associations, but does not mention norms. This is an example of how amongst the other components of social capital, it is norms that often seems to be omitted, not in the theoretical paradigm but in the empirical.

attacked in the street. These two variables were summed and the scale produced had an alpha of 0.24.

They were also asked how worried they were about the above happening to them, i.e. housebreaking and physical assault. Again these were summed and the new variable had an alpha of 0.72.

xii) Police presence

Respondents were asked how often they saw police walking about in their neighbourhood and how often they saw police cars or vans patrolling in their neighbourhood. These were then summed and the new variable created had an alpha of 0.59. This new variable details respondents' perception of the police presence in their neighbourhood.

2.5 Criterion Measures

i) Official delinquency

There were several different delinquency variables used in the analysis. Police recorded crime data was made available to the study, supplied with the postcode, which then was used to allot the crime to the neighbourhood as understood within the study. These were then entered into the data set, according to neighbourhood. Data was available for various crimes (vandalism, car crime, housebreaking, and violent crime), although the variable used throughout the analysis was a neighbourhood crime rate per 1000 population in 2001 (which consisted of vandalism, housebreaking and assault). This particular measurement of official delinquency was selected as it seemed sensible to include the most common offences, thereby excluding a number of unusual offences, such as vagrancy and contempt of court. Furthermore out of a combination of various offences it was the most highly correlated with the self reported delinquency rate.

ii) Self-reported delinquency

Data from the cohort was used to provide a self-reported delinquency variable. This related to the number of different types of criminal or delinquent behaviour committed within a neighbourhood. The respondents were asked about 18 forms of delinquency: fare dodging, shop lifting, being noisy or cheeky in public, joy-riding, theft at school, carrying a weapon, writing or spraying graffiti, damage to property, housebreaking, robbery (theft with force or threats), theft from home, fire-raising, assault, car-breaking, truancy, harming or injuring animals, racially motivated assault or bullying, selling illegal drugs. The respondents were asked which of these they had engaged in within the previous twelve months.

iii) Neighbourhood deprivation

The level of neighbourhood deprivation is a composite measure derived from the following six items of information from the 1991 census:

- % of population who have lived in the area for less than 12 months
- % of population aged 10-24
- % of households consisting of lone parents and children
- % of households overcrowded (more than one person per room)
- % of households in local authority housing
- % of the population who are unemployed.

Each value was expressed as a z score³ and then added together to give a composite score for the levels of socio-economic stress within a particular neighbourhood. The neighbourhood deprivation level was banded from 1-5 for ease of use.

iv) Incivilities

Respondents were asked how common the following were in their neighbourhood: noisy neighbours, or loud parties; vandalism, graffiti, or other deliberate property damage; groups of young people hanging around on the street; people who have been drinking or taking drugs; rubbish or litter lying around; abandoned or burnt out cars; used syringes lying around; derelict or empty houses. This question was taken from the Chicago Neighbourhood Project. Internal reliability was high with an alpha of 0.824.

³ Z scores were used to standardise the variables. Z scores are expressed in units of standard deviation.

It should be noted that the conceptualisation and measurement of 'incivilities' in this project contains a subjective element, in other words it is based on respondent's perception of incivilities within their neighbourhood. As such some may consider its later use in statistical processes problematic. Sampson has cautioned against the use of subjective measurements of incivilities and has instead advocated the adoption of systematic social observation, which allows an objective measurement of incivilities to be achieved (this is further discussed in Taylor 2001). There is also a concern that such a measurement may confound attempts to differentiate between independent and dependent measures. However the Edinburgh study has consistently measured incivilities in the way outlined earlier and it would be inconsistent for this survey not to follow suit.

3. The Questionnaire

The original design was to survey 2000 households within Edinburgh. Such a number would comfortably allow a sufficient number of respondents within each neighbourhood to make the use of multilevel modelling possible. This original specification was altered somewhat through the process of tendering, resulting in changes to the sample size, and alterations to the method of administration.

3.1 The survey as an instrument

The design of a survey,

entails the collection of data on a number of units and usually at a single juncture in time, with a view to collecting systematically a body of quantifiable data in respect of a number of variables which are then examined to discern patterns of association (Bryman 1989:104).

In this case it was intended to use the survey method to collect data on different variables across the neighbourhoods, to enable comparison and a more detailed profiling of the neighbourhood as an entity. Various theoretical constructs were operationalised, i.e. social capital, with the goal of providing adequate and accurate measurements of those concepts. An operational definition 'specifies the procedures (operations) that will permit differences between individuals in respect of the concept(s) concerned to be precisely specified' (Bryman 1998:53-54). The survey is

not without its limitations as a research instrument, as Fischer observed in his study of networks,

Surveys, to be sure, have their pitfalls. Ultimately, an interview consists of one person, usually a woman, asking another person a set of questions. The answers only partly reflect reality. They also reflect how clear the questions are, how much effort the respondent makes, how much rapport the interviewer develops, whether the television is on during the interview, and many other aspects of the questionnaire, interviewee, interviewer, and situation. These circumstances can confuse and cloud our analysis, but they usually do not hide the general tendencies (Fischer 1982:17).

3.2 Research specification

A research specification was drawn up, which included an approximate sample size (2000), a suggested methodology and an outline of the neighbourhood structure used within the Study. The specification outlined the use of a questionnaire to ‘understand the social dynamics of each of the 91 neighbourhoods within Edinburgh’, initially to be administered by post, picking up the remaining respondents through telephone interviewing. A sample questionnaire was included with the research specification indicating the approximate length of the neighbourhood questionnaire.

3.3 The process of tendering

Three of the key research companies operating within Scotland were sent a copy of the research specification and invited to submit a tender. This was extended to another company when one company declared no interest in bidding. It was felt that for the sake of impartiality it would be preferable to have three tenders to assess. Companies were invited to include a costing of the provisional method as outlined in the specification, but were welcome to submit an additional plan with relevant costings.

3.4 The process of selection

The three bids were assessed as follows:

- understanding of the requirements outlined in the research brief
- development of the specification through the proposed methodology

- relevant experience and track record of the research team
- cost and value for money
- proposed timetable
- quality control mechanisms.

The successful bid advocated the use of face to face interviewing in preference to either postal or telephone methods. It was suggested that this would not only yield a far better response rate but would also be significantly more efficient. Whilst this had been initially considered as the preferred method it had been dismissed as impossible within the budget allotted for the project. It was therefore a persuasive factor in the commissioning of the research. One important repercussion of choosing the face to face method was the necessary reduction in sample size required in order to come within budget. The sample was thus reduced from 2,000 to 1,600. This new sample size would still accommodate the use of multilevel techniques, allowing for 15-20 respondents per neighbourhood. At the completion of fieldwork the actual sample size was 1,642.

3.5 Sampling

The sample needed to be representative of the population of Edinburgh, and also representative of the population within the individual neighbourhoods. A commercial sampling organisation provided the sample by dividing the Postal Address File for Edinburgh into 91 neighbourhoods, according to the structure used within the Edinburgh Study. For each sampling point, a full list of streets rather than individual addresses was identified. Quotas, of approximately 18 respondents per area, were devised. The quotas covered age, sex, and working status and were calculated on the basis of the 1991 census data. Within each of the individual neighbourhoods the interviewers could visit any residential address but were required to identify and conduct interviews only with those respondents who fulfilled the quota requirements for that neighbourhood. A quota sample rather than a random sample was used for this project, and as such it is necessary to note that this may place some limitations on the statistical techniques later used that require random sampling. However due to

financial constraints it was the best option possible, after professional advice and it was considered that any resulting limitations would be slight.

3.6 Sample profile and weighting

Within the sample there was a slight under-representation of 18-29 year olds, relative to the original quota targets. The achieved sample was composed of 20% 18-29 year olds rather than 25%, with perhaps unsurprisingly corresponding over-representation of older respondents. Across the sample points themselves, i.e. the neighbourhoods, there was a fairly even spread, with usually one or two of the interviews being out of quota. This was a result of the interviewers being given a small amount of flexibility, with the expectation that this would even out across the sample as a whole.⁴

3.7 Problems encountered

As mentioned above there was a slight over representation of the older age bracket and under representation of the younger age bracket. A weight was calculated which could be applied to the data set to cancel this imbalance. There was an additional error on the part of the research company which resulted in wrongful allocation in the fieldwork. One neighbourhood had 36 interviews carried out within it, and there were slight shortfalls in three other neighbourhoods (ranging from 9-11 interviews). It was decided that it was not necessary to weight the data to take further account of this.

A first glance at the data set within the SPSS format was alarming as for certain questions there appeared to be considerable numbers of missing values, in some cases as many as 40%. This was surprising as in face to face interviews a small number of missing values were expected. On closer inspection it materialised that the same code had been given to 'don't know' as to 'refused to answer'. It was decided that it was appropriate to re-code this response as 'don't know' and then give a value according to where it fell within the scale used for the question. For questions that had a Likert type scale of response, indicating strength of opinion, 'don't know' was re-coded at the mid-point. For response scales that related to frequency, 'don't know'

was re-coded as the base point. For both scenarios the value given to 'don't know' was 0. It should be noted that for personal questions relating to education and income, 'don't know' was not re-coded in this way, as it was there presumed that this value corresponded to a respondent who 'refused to answer'. Much thought and discussion went into how to handle this problem and it was felt that this was an appropriate solution, providing it was applied consistently throughout the survey.

3.8 Data processing and analysis

The survey company provided a data set within SPSS. The question responses were entered as variables which then needed to be re-coded into the appropriate scales, often requiring inversion. Additionally some scales were devised and confirmed, as internal reliability was explored. Further exploration and comparison of means was carried out, between the criterion measures and the neighbourhood measures. At the individual level Principal Component Analysis was carried out, and then Component scores were calculated. From this data set, variables were aggregated to the neighbourhood level, in other words at the neighbourhood level a mean value was calculated from the individual respondents and this was used to represent the variable for the neighbourhood (this included the component scores). At the neighbourhood level correlation matrixes were performed and a series of multi-variate regression models were developed. The results are discussed in the following chapter.

4. The case study

4.1 A discussion of the case study as a method

The social world cannot be reduced to statistical inferences, and can only be fully understood through participation and observation. It is difficult to understand the meanings which people allocate to certain terms, situations etc. unless one can gain access to the world in which the terms and situations arise. Ethnographic research provides this access.

⁴ Given the straightforward nature of the questionnaire the interviewers were not briefed in person, rather a detailed set of instructions were compiled and these were issued with the survey materials.

There are many acknowledged flaws inherent in surveys, not least, that a respondent may say he does something but may not actually be telling the truth. A case study approach goes some way toward overcoming this failure, because by observing the respondent in their natural setting it becomes clearer what he actually does and thinks. Shortcomings of the ethnographic method primarily relate to contamination. The observer automatically becomes part of the context that is being observed and thus changes the context.

In Whyte's critique of his own *Street Corner Society* he offered a reasoned defence of the ethnographic technique, tempered with an advocacy of other methods,

Observation guides us to some of the important questions we want to ask the respondent, and interviewing helps us to interpret the significance of what we are observing. Whether through interviewing or other means of data gathering, we need to place the observed scene in context, searching for the potential positive or negative sanctions, which are not immediately observable but may be important in shaping behaviour (Whyte 1984:96).

By the combined use of both these methods it is hoped that triangulation will make the data more reliable and thus increase its generalizability. The case study began prior to the administration of the survey, and although the questionnaire had been largely developed there was a degree of interaction between the two processes.

The community studies undertaken in Chicago, Rochester and Stockholm (see Wikstrom 1990, 1991a, 1991b and 2000), whilst providing considerable data on neighbourhoods, have failed to contextualise neighbourhood adequately. In order to understand why some neighbourhoods which seem to be demographically similar can differ considerably in their crime rates, qualitative research is necessary. Whilst it is easier and perhaps superficially more efficient to undertake large quantitative projects there are dangers connected with using solely such an approach. In Suttles' study of inner city slum Chicago he warned against this,

When observing from a great distance one is apt to invent all sorts of irrational mental mechanisms to account for the behaviour of slum residents. When observing close at hand, we are made all the more aware of how our own ideals have blinded us to the practicality of slum residence (Suttles 1968:12).

It seems logical to look at such neighbourhoods, with similar demographic details but differing crime rates, where their deprivation rates are high, so it can be established

that there are mechanisms, other than poverty, which contribute to or curb the level of crime within a neighbourhood.

Ethnography finds its roots in anthropology, where it was adopted as a method which facilitated 'thick description' of cultures and it has a long history in criminology.

Geertz writes, 'doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of 'construct a reading of') a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalised graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour' (Geertz 1993).

Ethnography is generally understood to include methods of observation, participant observation and participation. The community study as a method is eclectic in its method, relying on many sources for data, but 'if properly documented it can provide relevant and significant data about the community' (Bell 1971:79).

As long as communities have been regarded as important, the case study has been regarded as a valuable method for better understanding them. Rooted in the early work of the Chicago school it is seen in *Middletown*, (Lynd 1929) *The Jack Roller*, (Park and Burgess) and more recently the case study has been used by Bottoms et al. (Bottoms 1992, 1989) in Sheffield, and by Sparks in Macclesfield (Girling et al 2000; see also Body-Gendrot 2000). In the Sheffield study two adjacent neighbourhoods were selected, of similar demographic composition but with substantially differing crime rates, Stonewall and Gardenia. Ethnographic work was carried out, which involved observation as well as participant observation.

Researchers attended community meetings, helped out at youth clubs, collected the local soccer pools and one even worked as a taxi driver. It was found that the local housing allocation policies played a significant role in determining where families were housed. Often the housing allocation policy was responsible for the housing of problem families in close quarters. The more recent study done in Macclesfield adopted systematic observation and utilised informal interviews and focus groups, talking to residents, community workers, and to the Police.

The following words of Janet Foster, spoken from experience, seem particularly pertinent here,

Ethnography is not easy especially in high crime neighbourhoods. it can be stressful and difficult (something Gans (1982) delightfully captures) and occasionally very scary. But it is also a privilege. The opportunity to glimpse other people's worlds, to listen to their experiences as offenders, victims, residents, housing managers and police officers; to observe the complex social processes which exist in neighbourhoods (though never feeling it is possible to properly convey these in words to the reader); to look at the interaction between communities and crime, their impact on criminal opportunities, traditions, networks and informal social control and to examine the impact on urban change and conflict (Foster 2002:168).

There were indeed times when I felt privileged and times when I felt afraid.

4.2 The method

A three pronged approach was adopted in the case study. The primary feature was a series of interviews, semi-structured and in-depth, with two different samples of respondents, neighbourhood professionals and neighbourhood residents. Additionally a review of neighbourhood documents was carried out, this included sources ranging from police policy documents to housing allocation documents to the local newspaper. This familiarisation with local documentation, was advocated by the Lynds in their study of Middletown, where they used all the locally produced material which they could find (Lynd 1929). Thirdly, the neighbourhoods were observed throughout the intensive period of fieldwork. This period lasted from April – August 2002. During this time I was in the field most week days, either for the purposes of arranging interviews or carrying out interviews. I also attended the monthly neighbourhood council meetings, beginning in March. It was possible to learn a considerable amount about the different neighbourhoods just from moving around within them and becoming familiar with local landmarks and local problems. It was easily observable which micro neighbourhoods had higher instances of incivilities and, as a single female researcher, it was clear that some areas felt safer than others. I found, as Patton did, that, 'there is a very practical side to qualitative [research] methods that simply involves asking open-ended questions of people and observing matters of interest in real-work settings in order to solve problems' (Patton 1990:89).

4.3 Selection of neighbourhoods

Bottoms and Wiles (1989) in their work in Sheffield studied two adjacent neighbourhoods, Stonewall and Gardenia, alike in demographic detail but with differing crime rates. Their findings suggested that there were indeed explanations other than the aggregated criminality of individuals that could help explain levels of crime. The method they used was the case study, with dense ethnographic fieldwork. Evans et al (1998) studied two high crime areas in Salford. She also adopted the case study approach which enabled the exploration of complex processes, such as networks and the idea of community, and how these contributed to the shape and extent of crime within a community. Following then, in the rich tradition within this discipline in the use of the case study, it was hoped that better understanding would emerge of the 'ways in which individuals are embedded into sets of personal relationships which are based outside the household' (Crow and Allen 1994:177).

The case study originally was intended to look at two neighbourhoods and some piloting work had been performed in two neighbourhoods already. Many contacts had been made with agencies working within the communities at this time. These contacts were then further utilised, hopefully in a more directed way. Often ethnographic research is hostile to the idea of a pre-specified design, preferring that the conceptual framework emerge out of the work done in the field. I believe that enough piloting work had been done to identify the key issues, and while questions and interviewing strategies were most easily worked out in the field, there was already a loose framework to manoeuvre within. Contacts had been formed with the following agencies and were then built upon,

- Children and Families Team, City of Edinburgh Social Work Department
- City of Edinburgh Local Housing Office
- Community Newspaper
- Community Care Team, City of Edinburgh Council Social Work Department
- Community Safety Forum
- Criminal Justice Team, City of Edinburgh Council Social Work Department
- Community Housing Association
- Lothian and Borders Police

- Partnership and Community Safety Group
- Youth Agency
- Youth Centre

In actuality three neighbourhoods were studied, which was testament to the fact that neighbourhoods and what occurs within them are never as clear-cut as first thought! The initial two neighbourhoods were selected in a similar way to the Sheffield Study (Bottoms and Wiles 1989), where the two neighbouring areas had similar socio-economic details, but differed considerably in their crime rate. Accordingly two such neighbourhoods were selected, indeed they had been previously selected. However once fieldwork had commenced it became clear that it would be impossible to look at these two neighbourhoods without also including a third area, adjacent, and with crime levels closer to the original neighbourhood with the lower crime rate. This third neighbourhood, although seen as outwith the area (the other two neighbourhoods were commonly thought to be one whole area), was included within the area for the purposes of all SIP funding (Social Inclusion Partnership), and thus shared much with the original two neighbourhoods.

In order to move toward developing an econometrics, a set of instruments with which to measure the strength of community within a neighbourhood, it was essential to keep a number of questions at the forefront whilst completing the qualitative fieldwork. These questions emerged from the literature review as the central concerns in seeking to understand neighbourhood and community and their relation to crime and criminality and are addressed within the typologies presented earlier in this chapter. They were as follows,

- How can we measure the degree of a neighbourhood's collective efficacy?
- Assess what else is happening in a neighbourhood that has high levels of collective efficacy, i.e., what are the other factors that may facilitate an efficacious neighbourhood?
- What does a neighbourhood with low efficacy look like?
- Why are some neighbourhoods more efficacious than others?

- What sort of interventions may be made to increase a neighbourhoods collective efficacy?

4.4 Interviewing

For the purposes of consistent interviewing an interview schedule was developed and piloted. It explored several aspects of the respondents' lived experience within their neighbourhood, and the area at large (see appendix). The topics ranged from neighbourhood involvement to perceptions of police and experience of crime. During analysis these topics were grouped in specific ways to allow the breadth of data to be assessed and to provide discrete groups of information for analysis. In order to carry out systematic and logical analysis these charts were used to provide the data for key indicators of social capital, both bridging and bonding, and also collective efficacy.

4.5 Sampling

The first sample, composed of professionals working within the neighbourhoods, was fairly straightforward. Respondents were selected for the information which it was thought they might bring to the study. Accordingly a range of representatives were selected from most of the key agencies operating within the area. Occasionally one of the respondents would suggest someone else that would be useful to talk to, and in this way the sample grew. In this latter situation the sample which was initially strategic developed into a snowball sample. There was a definite element of opportunistic sampling, where individuals would present themselves at various meetings I would attend. As Burgess observed, 'in these terms, replication is impossible as the researcher selects individuals who are available and who are willing to co-operate with the research' (Burgess 1991:55). Taylor in his sample of community workers chose to talk to people who had been involved for at least 7 years but were no longer involved, although he had to relax this criterion at times (Taylor 2001). It was neither achievable nor desirable to adopt the same approach here. It was important that the neighbourhood professionals were in a position to discuss the neighbourhoods as they were operating and understood at the current point in time.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the professionals. Before the interview took place, a copy of the interview schedule was sent to the respondent to enable some preparation, in the hope that the interview might be as productive as possible. The interviews tended to last between 45 and 90 minutes. I took some notes and the interview was also recorded and later transcribed. This sample consisted of 25 respondents.

The second sample of residents was far more complex. The original intention was to use purposive sampling, where several key dimensions were selected to guarantee coverage of defining population characteristics. A grid was drawn up, including dimensions such as employment, tenure, dwelling type, family structure, and age and gender. However once I entered the field it became clear that this was not an appropriate approach. Rather than being three separate neighbourhoods, it materialised that for the purposes of SIP funding the neighbourhoods were recognised as being made up of 12 individual neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood with the higher rate of crime had six neighbourhoods within it, the lower crime rate neighbourhood had three and the third neighbourhood had three. It was decided for practical reasons to try to speak to residents within 8 of the 12 neighbourhoods, four in the first neighbourhood and two in each of the others. The final sample size was 42 respondents.

Eight micro neighbourhoods were selected, after discussions with community workers as to which might be the most representative and therefore the most useful. A strategy was then developed for selecting respondents. Each of the neighbourhoods tended to have a main street, where most of the residences were located, often this was a long road which wound round the neighbourhood with various cul-de-sacs off it. This central street was the starting point for the door-knocking. Every third door was knocked and the resident was asked if they wanted to take part in an interview. As a point of reference a sampling grid was developed, outlining how many respondents were needed for each neighbourhood and details of gender. It was impractical to have quotas for age ranges, although as it materialised the age of the sample was well dispersed.

Where the dwellings were flats, again every third door was knocked upon, taking it turn about to begin at the ground level, and then at the highest level. In this way there was a real attempt made at systematic sampling. It was an extremely difficult task, in some neighbourhoods the interest rate was so low that it became necessary to interview anybody, this resulted in a couple of neighbourhoods where the respondents were all the same sex.

When an individual answered their door I explained who I was and where I was from and the nature of the research I was doing. I felt that as the interview was in-depth and ideally lasting one to two hours it was unreasonable to expect anyone to undertake to be involved there and then. Therefore I developed a pattern of making appointments to go back and interview them, leaving behind a leaflet outlining the research and contact details (see Appendix).

The actual interview was an in-depth interview, lasting ideally between one and two hours. Although there was a topic guide (see appendix), there was no interview schedule as had been used in the professional sample. The topic guide had been developed prior to field work, and although it became clear which issues were the most important to the respondents, the substance of the schedule changed little throughout the fieldwork, resulting in fairly consistent coverage of the topic guide. The interview typically began with the respondent telling the interviewer about themselves, how long they had lived in the neighbourhood and how they had come to be there. Subsequently the majority of the questions were open ended and the shape and direction of the interview was determined by the respondent, although it was the responsibility of the interviewer to make sure that all the topics were covered to some degree. Interestingly sometimes surprising topics were sensitive issues, some respondents engaged better with the in-depth, 'life history' approach than others and demonstrated that it is 'possible for any topic, depending on the context, to be a sensitive one' (Raymond and Renzetti 1993:6). The interview was recorded in all cases but one (where the respondent refused use of the tape recorder), and the tapes were then later transcribed.

Although work was started on the professional sample group first, in order to gain access into the community, through the gate-keepers, as it were, for the most part the two samples were on-going for the same period of time. This proved useful as information that residents gave relating to various historical and present day events and problems could be checked against the professional view (Arksey and Knight 1999). For the most part the answers and information did correspond, and differences were often a result of differing perspectives, which of course was useful to the research, as knowledge in qualitative interviewing is 'situational and conditional' (Rubin and Rubin 1995:38).

4.6 Documentation

Initially and then throughout the fieldwork various documents were acquired and examined, these included police crime data, minutes and records of the community safety forum, minutes and records of the central neighbourhood representative council, and a host of prior surveys carried out within the neighbourhoods. Information from the local housing associations, including allocation policy documents, and applications and refusals of allocations was also looked at, along with documentation outlining various local agencies policies and goals. In addition back issues of the local newspaper were studied.

4.7 Observation

There was some observation of disorders and incivilities, although not on the scale undertaken in the Chicago Study. There, Systematic Social Observation was done, this was not possible within the Edinburgh research and is further discussed later in the chapter. Photographs have been included in the thesis, in chapter 5, evidencing the importance the observation.

4.8 Problems encountered

The original intention was to perform this qualitative aspect of the field work before the community survey was carried out, in this way there would be a direct feedback into the content of the questionnaire as recommended by Merry (1981). In her study of urban danger she observed how 'small scale ethnographic research can provide a

valuable complement to large-scale surveys since it can elicit new variables or questions that can then be examined in larger populations' (Merry 1981:15-6). This was the case for the professional sample which was well underway by the time the questionnaire was in the final stages of development. Unfortunately the resident sample was on-going throughout the finalisation and administration of the survey, rendering the process of interaction impossible. This was somewhat problematic as some topics became evidently important throughout the interviewing (such as the feeling of vertical networks which had been considered originally for inclusion in the questionnaire but had been dropped in part) and were unable to be explored and then included within the survey. Contracting an outside company to administer the survey, whilst the only sensible option, had resulted in an abdication of matters pertaining to timing and last minute alterations.

There was no incentive offered to take part in the interview and the response rate was extremely low. This was due to a number of reasons, one of which was the amount of research that has been done in the area, by external and internal bodies was such that many residents felt they were 'over-researched'.

(a) Minority ethnic booster

Throughout the fieldwork there were problems achieving interviews with respondents from minority ethnic groups. Although many minority ethnic households were knocked upon, there was not a single individual from one of these households who was willing to take part in the survey. All the evidence from other respondents, whether professional or resident, suggested that it would be important to include minority ethnic individuals within the sample, particularly as their lived experience of the area may be quite specific to them. In order to achieve this contact was made with the local Multi-Cultural Project and their case worker was able to provide me with five names of individuals who would be willing to take part in an interview. Obviously these individuals have not been part of the same sampling procedure as the other residents but there appeared to be no other means with which a booster sample might be achieved. A further problem with these interviews was the presence of the case worker throughout. Although at times, for purposes of translation

assistance, this was useful, at other points it was possible that the case worker was interfering with the natural flow and content of the respondents' responses. Nevertheless a booster sample of minority ethnic individuals was achieved in this way.

There were additional issues of safety which arose throughout the fieldwork. Several of the neighbourhood professionals had expressed some concern that I was intending on door-knocking and carrying out the interviewing alone. Therefore, for the first couple of weeks of field work I was able to employ an individual to accompany me whilst making the interview appointments. I was able to assess whether it would be preferable to have company for the interview itself. After a couple of weeks I felt able to continue the work alone, fortunately as the funding for support had run out. Thereafter it was practice to inform the local police station of my whereabouts for the day ahead.

(b) Systematic Social Observation

It was originally planned to carry out Systematic Social Observation (SSO) as part of the observation done in the case study neighbourhoods, due to time constraints this was not possible. The assessment and measurement of signs of disorder can be seen originally in the work of Newman and then Coleman, and more recently in that of Wesley Skogan. The concept has since been codified in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, and there exists a statutory duty for the responsible authority to develop a strategy to reduce crime and disorder. Skogan has noted that 'neighbourhood levels of disorder are closely related to crime rates and fear of crime, and the belief that neighbourhood crime is a serious problem' (Skogan 1990:10). There is a presumption that the relationship is a causal one, with disorder driving out community controls and the people who might exercise them, resulting in an increase in crime and disorder (Garwood 2000).

Disorder can be measured by systematic observation. This has recently been done on a large scale by Sampson, involving a large team of researchers and the use of extensive audio-visual equipment. It can equally be done by a single researcher

carefully observing the neighbourhood (Sampson 1999). It is necessary to first conceptualise how disorder may manifest itself, whether in the form of Alco-pop bottles in the bins in public places, as the result of teenage drinking, or the more obvious graffiti and broken windows left un-repaired. These are called 'traces', 'things produced by individuals or groups of individuals which a researcher may use as an indicator of some form of social behaviour' (Garwood 2000:161). While these may be considered merely anecdotal evidence, if they are observed and recorded in a systematic and careful way and checked against other available data they can be very useful indeed. As it happened there was observation of disorders and incivilities, although it was not done according to the SSO outlined in the Chicago Project. It is possible that the aim of carrying out SSO, in addition to the other methods used, was perhaps too ambitious given the time constraints of a doctoral thesis.

4.9 Analysis

It was decided to use Framework to facilitate analysis of the qualitative data. Framework is a method for analysing qualitative data, developed by the Qualitative Research Unit at the National Centre for Social Research, London, specifically with policy research in mind. It involved identifying the key themes which emerged from familiarisation with the transcripts and field notes. Transcripts were then indexed according to these themes and their component sub-themes. This data was then entered into a series of thematic charts or matrices. The columns of which represent sub-themes and the rows, individual respondents. This facilitated the ordering of the data within an analytical framework which is 'grounded in the respondents own account' (Ritchie and Spencer 1994). Framework thus enabled within and between case comparison, allowing patterns to be observed and explored.

Conclusion

The complex notion of social capital and collective efficacy necessitate a nuanced methodology that can embrace the complexity. It is hoped that the multilevel, multi method approach adopted in the Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study managed to access and measure these concepts, in more detail than has previously been the case. Certainly the quantitative element sought to use multiple item measurement where

before often only single item measures had been used. Equally the case study provided a wealth of data, at different levels, uncovering some of the processes and beliefs behind the concepts of social capital and collective efficacy, and the patterns found in the survey data.

The following chapter assesses the appropriateness of these concepts for the understanding of communities and crime, in accordance with van Deth,

The only relevant arguments for using a concept are its usefulness, fruitfulness, and efficiency in genuine research. The social capital concept deserves to be appraised along these lines (van Deth 2003:89)

In its presentation and discussion of findings from the neighbourhood survey chapter 4 illuminates the concepts and their utility in this area further, suggesting that social capital is worth holding onto, providing a more complete understanding of the concept is used. It is argued that the joint use of social capital and collective efficacy has enabled a set of measures to be developed that address the processes and dynamics at work within the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER 4: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD SURVEY; FINDINGS

Introduction

The Edinburgh Neighbourhood Survey, as discussed in the last chapter was a questionnaire, mobilising the concepts of social capital and collective efficacy, administered to over 1,600 households in Edinburgh, designed to measure neighbourhood processes and dynamics and how they interact with crime and disorder. This chapter is concerned only with the findings of the survey, the complementary findings from the neighbourhood case study are discussed separately in chapters 5,6 and 7.

The findings suggested that not all neighbourhood processes were directly or significantly related to levels of crime or disorder within the neighbourhood, or to use the terms outlined in the chapter 3, not all Neighbourhood Measures were significantly related to Criterion Measures. While processes like informal social control, neighbourhood satisfaction and trust were highly correlated (negatively) with levels of crime and disorder, other processes like socialbility, internal networks and activism were not. However it was often the case that these latter processes were significantly related to other neighbourhood measures. Principal Component analysis was used to condense the Neighbourhood Measures which were significantly related to either Criterion or other Neighbourhood Measures, into three underlying components. The technique of PCA was used to enable the themes underlying these various measures to be drawn out. These three components were then named with reference to the relevant theoretical literature and entered into multivariate regression analysis. Neighbourhood Ownership was found to be the most predictive of crime and disorder of the three Neighbourhood Components, although it is argued that the other two components, Neighbourhood Organisation and Neighbourhood Networks are important in the pathway to crime and disorder but may play a role at an earlier stage in the process.

This chapter presents the findings from the Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study. Various statistical tests were run, ranging from descriptive statistics, through correlations, and then Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and then some exploratory multivariate regression analysis using the components derived from analysis. The limitations of the statistical analysis are discussed and a tentative model of the causal pathway to crime and disorder is outlined.

A. Descriptive statistics

The relationship between the individual neighbourhood measures and the neighbourhood level of crime was initially explored through a comparison of means. The neighbourhood crime rate, relates to the official police recorded crime for the neighbourhood. This variable was constructed after careful exploration, as discussed earlier. The neighbourhood measures relate to data given by respondents, and thus exist at the individual level (n=1641). The neighbourhood crime rate exists at the neighbourhood level (n=91). The neighbourhood crime rate has been banded into five groups, 1-5, where 1 represents the neighbourhoods with the lowest levels of crime, and 5 represents the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of crime.

The comparison of means gives an estimation of how the measures are related to the neighbourhood level of crime. They have been presented in bar charts for ease of comprehension and have been grouped in three ways – those that show clear relationships, those with no relationship and those with inconsistent relationships.

1. Neighbourhood measures that are clearly related to levels of neighbourhood crime

As neighbourhood satisfaction increases the level of crime decreases, (seen in Figure 4.1) increasing from a mean of 0.86 in the most criminal neighbourhoods, to 2.40 in the least criminal neighbourhoods. It is likely that the extent to which individuals are happy with where they live is affected by the levels of crime within that neighbourhood. There is also a possibility that the more satisfied a resident is with

where they live, the more likely they are to take a real interest in the maintenance and upkeep of an area, whether that be through incidences of individual activism or informal social control.

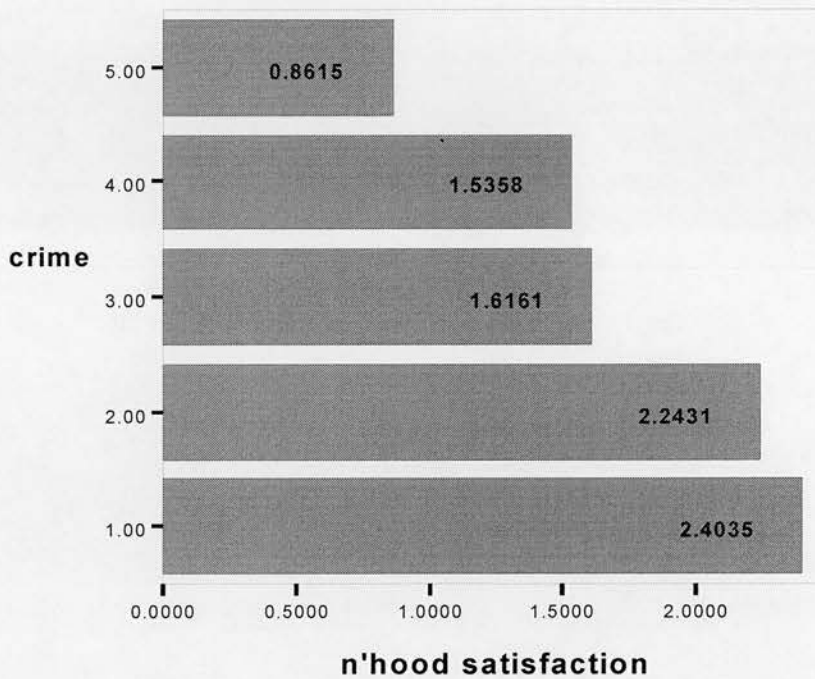


Figure 4.1: Comparing mean Neighbourhood Satisfaction and recorded crime.

In Figure 4.2, as expected, the likelihood of informal social control increases as the criminality of the neighbourhood decreases. The mean rate is at its highest, 4.35, when the neighbourhood is category 1 (neighbourhoods with least crime), and decreases to 2.09, for the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of crime. However it should be mentioned that there is an inconsistency within the graph, with the level of informal social control sharply increasing to 4.03 for neighbourhood type 4. This is surprising that the second most criminal neighbourhoods, have almost the highest mean of social control. This may be related to the type of informal social control that was discussed in the case study, and has been found to exist in American research (Patillo 1998). It may be that there is a criminal subculture within these neighbourhoods, where there is rigorous social control, but it may be manifesting itself in illegitimate ways rather than the expected legitimate ways.

A further distinction can be made where social capital is either bridging or bonding. This is something that is explored further in the case study, where some neighbourhoods were found to have high levels of social capital but still high levels of crime. In these neighbourhoods the criminal subculture who were responsible for the maintenance of order were all residents, and seemed, in turn, to be responsible for much of the drug and violent crime within the neighbourhoods. This finding supports the findings of Patillo's research in Chicago (Patillo 1998).

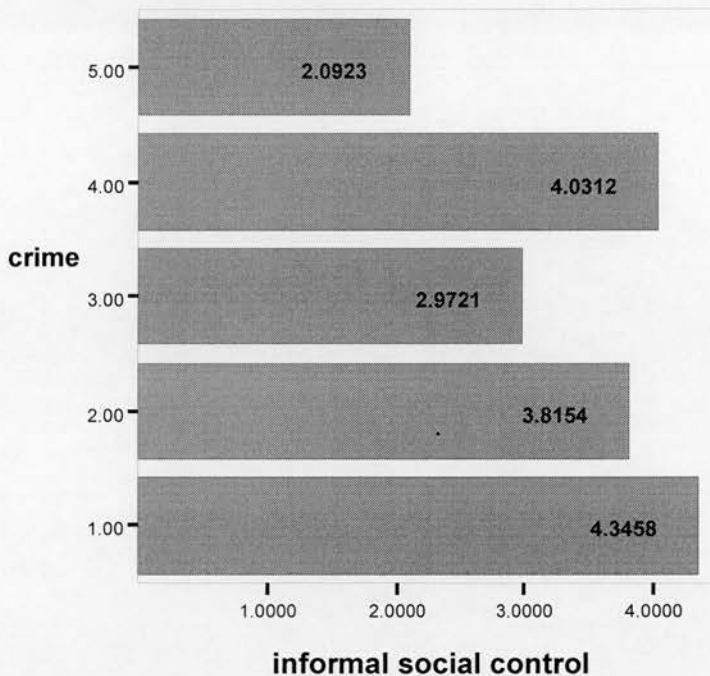


Figure 4.2: Comparing mean Informal Social Control and recorded crime

There is a clear relationship discernible between the mean amount of trust within a neighbourhood and the level of crime, seen in Figure 4.3. Trust increases steadily as the criminality of the neighbourhood decreases, with a sharp fall from 1.47 to 0.52 when looking at neighbourhood type 4 and neighbourhood type 5. It seems that this sharp fall indicates that where the levels of crime are highest the trust in existence in the neighbourhood has sharply diminished. It seems the difference between neighbourhood criminality 4 and 5 has significant implications for levels of trust.

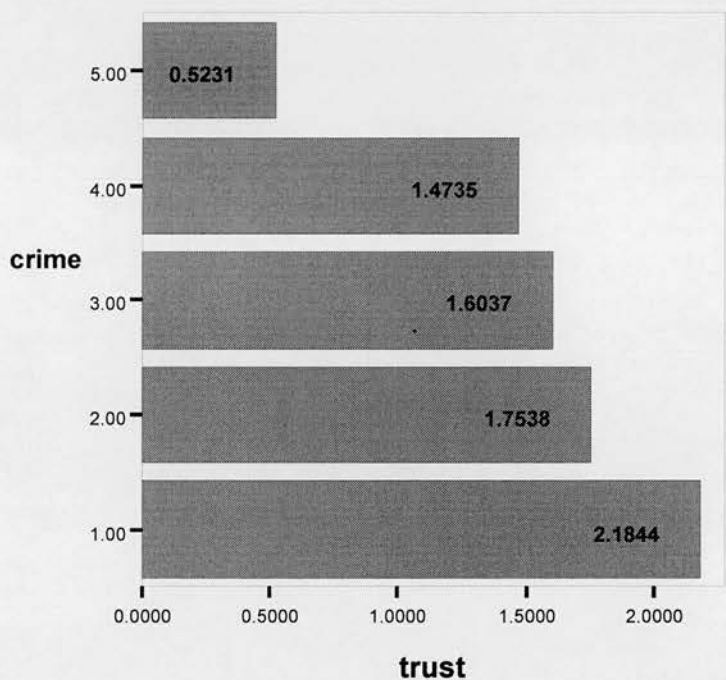


Figure 4.3: Comparing mean Trust and recorded crime

Figure 4.4 shows a clear relationship between the mean perception of police presence and neighbourhood crime rate. Those neighbourhoods where individuals felt the police were present, whether on foot or in vehicle, were the neighbourhoods with the higher rates of recorded crime. As with trust there is a significant jump between the mean value for neighbourhood type 4 and type 5. It seems that where there is a pattern demonstrated throughout the data it is seen most clearly when looking at the situation for the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of crime.

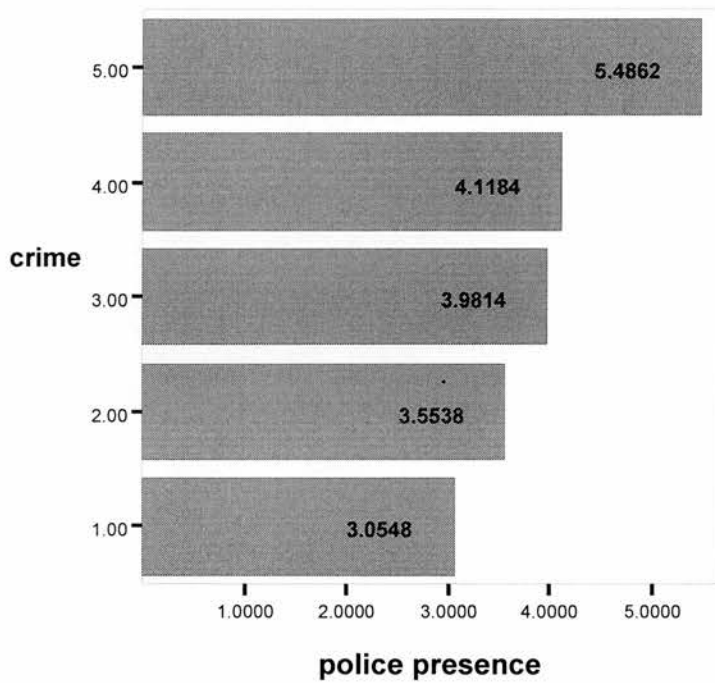


Figure 4.4: Comparing mean Police Presence with recorded crime

The measure of experience of crime related to respondents experience of house breaking and assault. The bar chart indicates that their experience of crime increased as the recorded crime rate increased. However almost 94% of the sample had experienced no crime of this type. The principal thing to note here is that the survey tends to be validated by these results. The bar chart in Figure 4.5 shows that there is a relationship between the crime survey measure and the official measure. The crime survey measure is not very reliable due to issues of sample size. Therefore the official crime rate is preferable in terms of reliability. Hereafter the neighbourhood measure of experience of crime will be dropped and the official crime rate will be used instead.

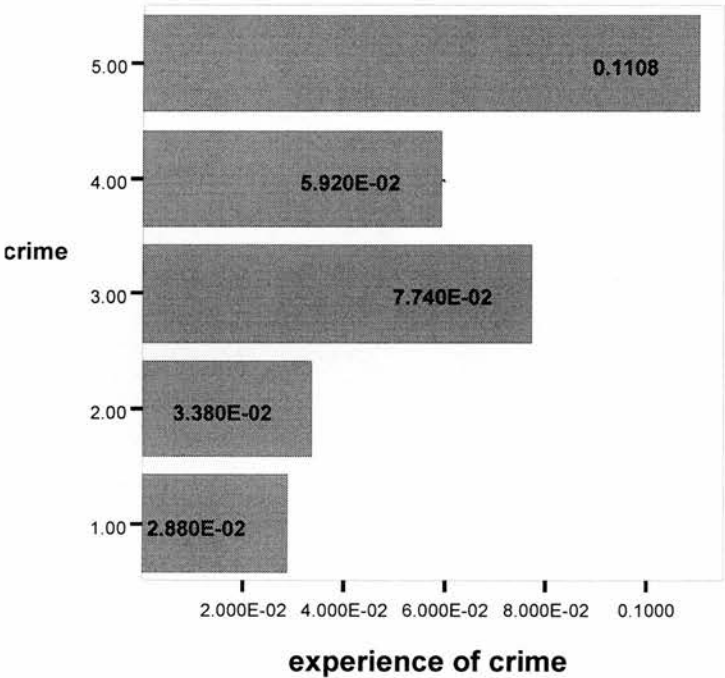


Figure 4.5: Comparing mean Experience of Crime and recorded crime

2. Neighbourhood measures that are unrelated to levels of neighbourhood crime.

Figure 4.6 suggests that there is no discernible pattern with respondents mean levels of socialising and the neighbourhood crime rate.

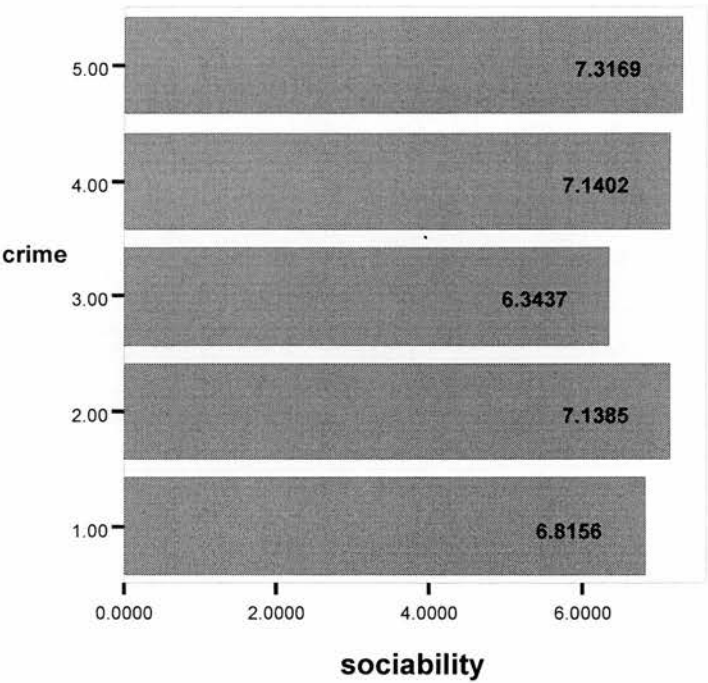


Figure 4.6: Comparing mean Sociability and recorded crime

Perhaps surprisingly the fear of crime seemed to bear no relation to the official level of crime within a neighbourhood. In Figure 4.7 regardless of how high the level of neighbourhood crime, there seemed to be little difference in the mean amount of fear of crime. Although it should be observed that the neighbourhoods with lowest levels of crime also had the lowest level of fear, but at 4.03 compared to the highest neighbourhood at 4.26, it is a small difference.

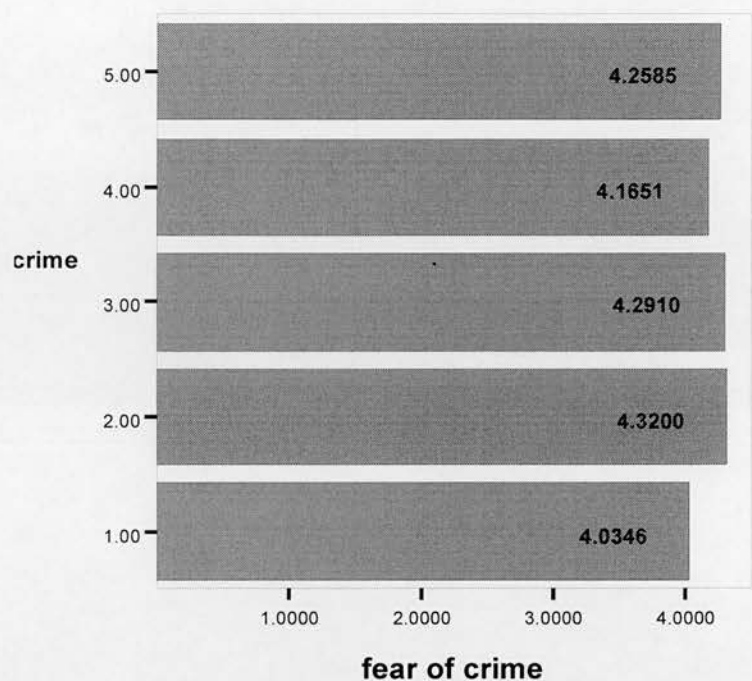


Figure 4.7: Comparing mean Fear of crime with recorded crime

There was no real discernible relationship between the mean level of neighbourhood activity and the neighbourhood crime rate, illustrated in Figure 4.8. This is contrary to the received wisdom embodied in much of the policy in this area of community and community empowerment, where it is often suggested that increased neighbourhood activity will serve to prevent crime, through the networks and controls created as by-products. Whilst it may be the case that the by-products are important, there is little evidence from this data set that the rate of neighbourhood crime is connected to the level of neighbourhood activity. This finding concurs with Sampson’s Chicago results which also suggested that neighbourhood activism did not predict levels of crime. However in neither case does this preclude the importance of neighbourhood activism as an earlier stage in the causal pathway of crime and disorder.

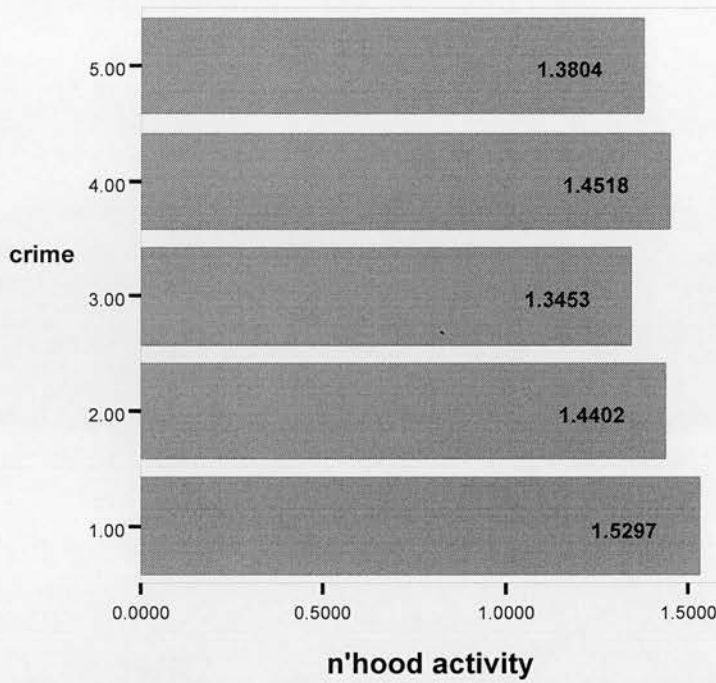


Figure 4.8: Comparing mean Neighbourhood Activism and recorded crime

3. Neighbourhood measures that are inconsistently related to levels of neighbourhood crime.

Whilst there is no linear pattern observable from the bar chart on individual activism, it may be significant that the neighbourhoods with the highest and the lowest levels of crime share similar levels of activism, according to Figure 4.9 their rate of activism is just over 0.5 (.52-.56). The neighbourhoods that fall in between have higher levels of activism. It may be that individual activism is most relevant, and indeed most common in neighbourhoods that are functioning fairly well. This fits with the importance of perception of efficacy within the collective, if a neighbourhood feels that it does not work well together then it is unlikely that they will work together, and if they are not working together at all, then it is unlikely that they will begin to. On the other hand Bandura theorises that where a collective believes it works well and can achieve successful results, it will continue to do so. It is not surprising that neighbourhoods with a real crime problem may not be conducive to high levels of activism, equally this would not be expected in areas of

low crime, typically more middle class areas, where the neighbourhood may also not be conducive to activism, seeing no necessity for it.

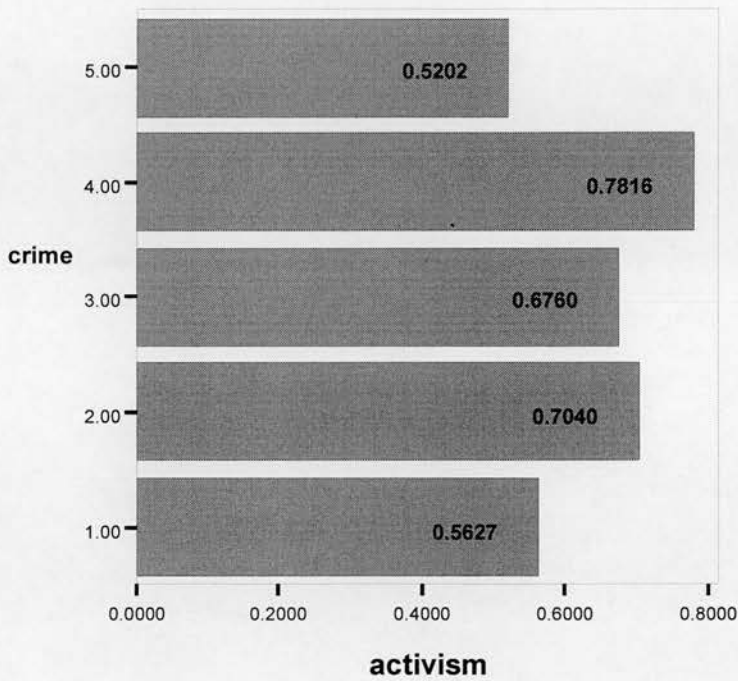


Figure 4.9: Comparing mean individual activism and recorded crime

As the mean of internal networks increased the crime rate decreased but, not consistently. The neighbourhoods with the highest crime rates did have the lowest levels of internal networks, however as the amount of crime decreases, there does not seem to be any obvious pattern between them. It is difficult to see any discernible pattern between crime and internal networks in Figure 4.10. It may be that internal networks are most important, i.e. most influential, when they are absent.

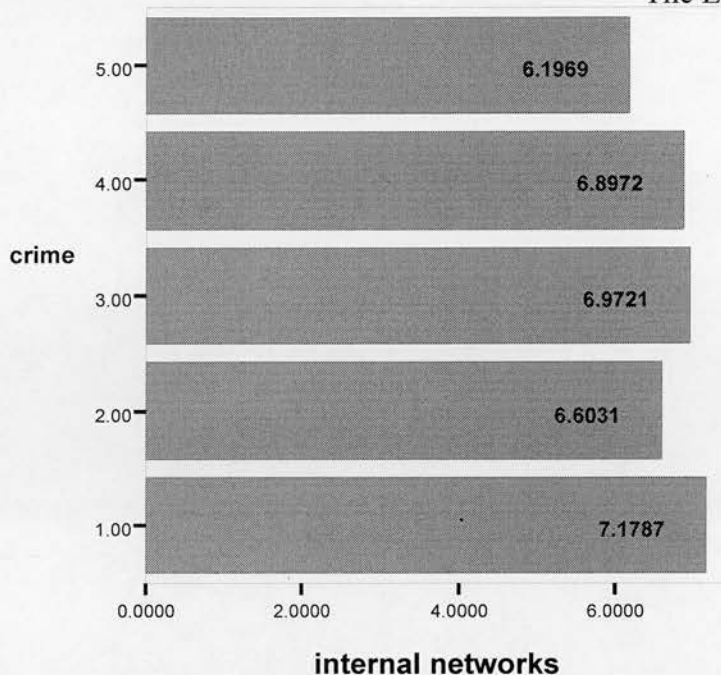


Figure 4.10: Comparing mean Internal networks and recorded crime

B. Correlations

Correlation coefficients were constructed for the neighbourhood measures and the 'criterion measures'. The reasoning for performing correlations between the crime rate and the neighbourhood measures was to confirm the initial investigation into this relationship, as seen in the bar charts. Additionally the correlations between the neighbourhood measures and the other two criterion measures, the deprivation level and the level of incivilities were calculated. Initially the relationships between the criterion measures was examined, before proceeding to look at how they were related to the neighbourhood measures.

1.The criterion measures

The criterion measures are those measures by which the neighbourhood may be defined. For instance a high crime neighbourhood, will be defined by the crime rate, a socially-economically stressed neighbourhood, by the level of neighbourhood deprivation. In addition to these two measures a third was included, that of incivilities. This was measured at the individual level and then aggregated to the

neighbourhood level. Before moving to look at how the neighbourhood measures are related to each other and to the criterion measures it was important to understand how the criterion measures were related to each other, if at all.

A simple set of non-parametric correlations were done initially on the three criterion measures; recorded neighbourhood crime, deprivation level and incivilities. This procedure was done at the neighbourhood level. These three measures had high positive correlations with one another, indicating that there is a strong relationship between them. The highest coefficient was the correlation between incivilities and neighbourhood deprivation level, at 0.670 (significant at the 0.01 level). The neighbourhood deprivation level was also strongly positively correlated with neighbourhood level of crime, with a coefficient of 0.656 (significant at the 0.01 level). Incivilities and recorded crime were less strongly correlated with, at 0.430, but remained significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 4.1: Non-parametric correlation matrix for the Criterion Measures

		CRIME RATE	INCIVILITIES	DEPRIVATION LEVEL
		N’HOOD LEVEL VARIABLE	N’HOOD LEVEL VARIABLE	N’HOOD LEVEL VARIABLE
Crime	Spearman’s rho	1.00	.430**	.656**
Incivilities	Spearman’s rho		1.00	.670**
N’hood Deprivation level	Spearman’s rho			1.000

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** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Therefore, it appears that the measures are related to each other. It is important to note that the criterion measures were clearly related and quite highly related, (ranging from .430-.670), but they are by no means the same thing. Each relates to a different and important aspect of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood deprivation level is quite different from the other measures which have been used, based on a range of census data rather than perceptual measures of neighbourhood processes. However it is undoubtedly important, indeed it is more closely related to crime than most of the actual neighbourhood measures, which will be seen later on, making this an important finding, though difficult to explain. The relationship between neighbourhood deprivation and crime rate fits in with those theories of crime that seek to relate crime to ideas of lack of resources and power.

Incivilities is somewhat like crime rate, although will include a host of behaviours and instances that are not defined as criminal, e.g. young people hanging around. Wilson and Kelling (1982) and their Broken Windows theory (as discussed in Chapter 2) and Skogan's theory on crime and disorder (1990) are relevant at this point. Skogan observed that where incivilities are allowed to occur, crime will also increase. He theorised that the presence of disorderly behaviour signified a break down in informal social controls, that would then also result in an increase in crime, due to the absence of controls that would otherwise be responsible for preventing crime.

Table 4.2: Non parametric correlation matrix for the Criterion Measures and the Neighbourhood Measures (at Neighbourhood level)

	Crime rate	Incivilities	Deprivation	Trust	N'hood activism	Indiv activism	Soc control	Int n'work	N satis	social
Crime rate	1.0	.430 **	.656 **	- .417 **	-.031	.016	- .289 **	-.167	- .436 **	-.161
Incivilities		1.0	.670 **	- .750 **	-.109	.017	- .352 **	-.125	- .705 **	-.131
Depriv level			1.0	- .727 **	-.011	.003	- .488 **	- .310 **	- .614 **	.137
Trust				1.0 *	.235 *	.238 *	.597 **	.384 **	.764 **	-.002
N'hood activism					1.0	.301 **	.178	.175	.167	-.101
Individual activism						1.0	.439 **	.303 **	.190	.086
Informal social control							1.0	.460 **	.531 **	-.063
Internal networks								1.0	.023	- .349 **
N'hood satisfactn									1.0	.212 *
Social										1.0

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

2. Neighbourhood measures and crime

The recorded crime rate was significantly correlated with all neighbourhood measures except sociability, internal networks and individual and neighbourhood activism. It was most highly correlated with neighbourhood satisfaction, with a coefficient of -0.436 , significant at 0.01 level. It was also highly correlated with trust, with a coefficient of -0.417 , so as the levels of trust decreased, the amount of crime increased (significant at 0.01 level). Informal social control also was significantly related, at -0.289 . Unsurprisingly, given Figure 4.10, internal networks did not have a significant relationship with crime, with a coefficient of only 0.167. The lowest coefficient was 0.16, between crime and individual activism.

3. Neighbourhood measures and neighbourhood deprivation levels

Neighbourhood deprivation followed a similar pattern to that of crime, although there were some notable differences, namely in strength of correlation. Deprivation was highly correlated with trust, with a coefficient of -0.727 , significant at the 0.01 level. It was also highly correlated with neighbourhood satisfaction, with a coefficient of -0.614 , and with social control, with a coefficient of -0.488 (both significant at 0.01 level). Like crime rate it was not correlated with neighbourhood level of involvement. However, unlike crime it was significantly related to internal networks, with a coefficient of -0.310 (significant at 0.01 level). This suggests that as the level of deprivation increased the levels of internal networks decreased.

Without exception the coefficients for the neighbourhood measures and deprivation levels were higher than for crime, and thus their relationship was stronger. This was a striking but baffling finding. It could be that these neighbourhood measures were acting as causal mechanisms for deprivation. Or it could simply be that the measure being used for neighbourhood deprivation was a very accurate measurement, more so than the other criterion measures. It is possible that if the measure for crime had been as accurate as the measure for deprivation, the results would have revealed stronger relationships. This is open to debate.

4. Neighbourhood measures and incivilities

Again this criterion measure followed similar patterns to crime and deprivation, but the relationships were at their strongest here. The highest correlation was with trust, at -0.750 , followed by neighbourhood satisfaction at -0.705 (both significant at 0.01 level). There was a strong correlation between informal social control and incivilities, with a coefficient of -0.352 . There was no significant correlation between internal networks and incivilities, nor between individual activism and incivilities. These latter results may be surprising, considering that it is often thought within the theoretical writing that internal networks should be built, in order to increase informal social control so that incivilities will be decreased. It is possible that internal networks and individual activism remain important, through their potential for facilitating informal social control, rather than as an end in themselves. This will be investigated later through the use of principal component analysis.

5. Neighbourhood measures and their internal relationships

Looking at the coefficients for the neighbourhood measures it is possible that the various relationships are more complex than the coefficients indicate. It is credible that where some of the neighbourhood measures seemed to have weaker associations with the criterion measures, they may be operating as some sort of 'plausible mechanism' (Rutter 1995), for other neighbourhood measures. Rutter wrote that 'whenever a statistical association is found between a risk factor A and an outcome B, it is always necessary to exclude the possibility that the link is due to the operation of some third variable C that is associated with both A and B' (Rutter 1988:8). It could also be the case that some of these neighbourhood measures act not as a 'third variable C', but that they are involved earlier on in the chain of causation, acting upon 'risk factor A' (Rutter 1988). The internal relationships between the neighbourhood measures give some insight into whether this could be the case.

Although internal networks, neighbourhood activism and individual activism were generally not strongly correlated with the criterion measures, they were related to other neighbourhood measures. Individual activism was correlated with social control, with a coefficient of 0.439 , and also to internal networks with a coefficient

of 0.303 (both significant at 0.01 level). Internal networks were in turn related to social control, coefficient of 0.460. Both internal networks and individual activism were correlated with trust, with coefficients of 0.384 and 0.238 respectively (both significant at 0.01 level). This supports the premise that individual activism and internal networks are important for facilitating other processes within the neighbourhood, which in turn are significantly related to the criterion measures. Interestingly internal networks was negatively correlated with sociability, with a coefficient of -0.349 , implying that as internal networks increase, the sociability decreases. Again, this was a surprising finding, as much of the work on neighbourhood and community suggests that this should be a positive relationship, where as sociability increases the internal networks would also increase. Recent work done on social capital and the housing market has found however that while sociability may not depend on the mix of housing other things did (Burns et al. 2001). They found that Registered Social Landlords were powerfully positioned to promote values and social norms, and maintain local social networks. This finding was confirmed in the qualitative empirical work done in Edinburgh, where the neighbourhoods which were RSL controlled experienced very different levels of trust and networks. Furthermore, these neighbourhoods stocks of bonding and bridging capital depended in part of the tenure mix and the location of the tenure, with mixed tenure potentially creating higher levels of bridging capital, but only if 'getto-ization' was avoided.

It could be that although some of the measures appeared to have very low correlation coefficients, they may feature in the chain of reactions, which lead to the causation of crime, or incivilities. It is possible for there to be causal chains, with various processes and mechanisms operating, where only the last process will appear as directly related to the outcome, i.e. crime levels.

C. Principal Component Analysis

In order to condense the considerable number of variables representing the various neighbourhood processes, factor analysis was undertaken, or to be precise, principal

component analysis (PCA). A number of social capital and collective efficacy indicators were selected from amongst the Neighbourhood Measures. The aim was to extract the components which underpinned these different Neighbourhood Measures. One of the most attractive features of PCA was the ability to retain some Neighbourhood Measures that had shown weak statistical significance but were thought to be operating as causal mechanisms. It was assumed that as the relevant neighbourhood measures were all elements of social capital and collective efficacy, the use of PCA would be one way of accessing a theoretically sound, concise definition of the components of neighbourhood processes and dynamics, whilst remaining data-rich.

Factor analysis has been used mostly within psychology, by the trait theorists when measuring personality traits. It supposes that if a number of variables are entered into a table of correlation coefficients, some will be more correlated than others. If there are subsets of variables that form clusters of high correlations with one another, that would suggest that they are measuring the same underlying dimension, 'these underlying dimensions are known as *factors* (or *latent variables*)' (Field 2000:423). This enables the data to be reduced from a number of overlapping, correlated variables, to a smaller number of factors, which are uncorrelated, thus 'factor analysis achieves parsimony by explaining the maximum amount of common variance in a correlation matrix using the smallest number of explanatory concepts' (Field 2000:423). As multiple regression modelling will be performed at some stage in the future, it is imperative that there will be no multicollinearity, which would be risked if a number of correlated variables were used rather than uncorrelated factor scores.

The above can be achieved in two ways, factor analysis and principal component analysis. Factor analysis estimates factors from a mathematical model, where principal component analysis breaks the data down into a set of linear variates. This is complex as the two methods have subtle differences, best explained by a statistician,

[F]actor analysis can only estimate the underlying factors and it relies on various assumptions for these estimates to be accurate. Principal component

analysis is concerned only with establishing which linear components exist within the data and how a particular variable might contribute to that component. (Field 2000:433).

It was advised by a university statistician that principal component analysis should be done, being psychometrically sound and less conceptually complex than factor analysis. There are competing views as to the similarity of the two procedures and to how interchangeable the terms 'factor' and 'component' really are, for consistency and clarity the term component will be used throughout the rest of this chapter.

For principal component analysis to be undertaken there are several characteristics which the data set is required to have, relating to size and strength of correlation. The smaller the data set, the more likely that the correlation coefficients among the variables will be unreliable. Tabachnick and Fidell recommend that there should be at least 300 cases for factor analysis (1996:640). They also state that if the correlations are 'strong and reliable' than it may be possible to use a smaller data set. Other authors suggest that it is not the overall size of the data set but the ratio of cases to items. Nunally (1978) suggests that it is advisable to have a ratio of 10:1, i.e. 10 cases for every item to be factor analysed (see Pallant 2001:152-153). Others have recommended that a ratio of 5:1 is adequate. Either way, the data set in question has fulfilled the size requirements and it is a suitable data set on which to carry out factor analysis.

The second requirement related to the strength of correlations. Tabachnick and Fidell recommend that the correlation coefficients should be above 0.3, if there are not many above this level then they warn that factor analysis may be inappropriate. SPSS also provides a couple of tests that check the appropriateness of the procedure for the data involved: Bartlett's test of sphericity (Bartlett, 1954) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy (Kaiser, 1970). The Bartlett's test needs to be significant, ($p < 0.05$), and the KMO, which ranges from 0 to 1, should be at least 0.6 for a good principal component analysis to occur.

It was considered most appropriate to use individual level data for the principal component analysis, due to the size of the sample and the amount of data therefore

available. The sample size was important when this decision was made, as the sample of the individual respondents ($n=1642$) allowed far more flexibility for investigation into components than the neighbourhood sample could ($n=91$). Indeed Tabachnick and Fidell suggest there should be at least 300 cases before Factor Analysis is considered (Tabachnick and Fidell 1996:640). The principal component analysis was performed with only the neighbourhood measures that were deemed 'proxy measurements' for social capital and collective efficacy, i.e. police presence and incivilities, amongst others were omitted from the analysis. If PCA is performed on a set of variables it is likely that it will find a number of components that undergird the variables entered. Because of this it is crucial that there is theoretical reasoning for the variables entered into the analysis, otherwise it would be an a-theoretical exercise, and analogous to data-mining. Much thought was given to which neighbourhood measures should be entered and which were supported by the literature on social capital and collective efficacy. The final variables entered were: Internal networks; Informal social control; Individual activism; Trust; Nhood satisfaction; Nhood provision; and Nhood activism.

These were the neighbourhood measures that were considered to be theoretically compliant with the constructs of social capital and collective efficacy, they also happened to be the most strongly correlated (correlations coefficients were mostly 0.2+). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling was 0.600, which was considered adequate to proceed with PCA. There are two ways of deciding how many components to retain in PCA. The first is called Kaiser's Criterion, or the Eigenvalue Rule. The Eigenvalue of a principal represents the amount of the total variance that is explained by that component. Three components had Eigenvalues of over 1, so according to Kaiser's Criterion, three components should be retained for rotation (see Table 4.3).

The other way of discerning the appropriate number of components for retention is Catell's scree test (1996). This involves plotting the Eigenvalues of each of the components and inspecting the plot for the point at which the curve becomes horizontal. At this break in the plot, or elbow, Catell recommends keeping all the

components above it, he states that these are the components that contribute most to the explanation of variance in the data set. The scree test confirmed that three components should be looked at further in rotation.

Table 4.3: Eigenvalues for the Neighbourhood Components

COMPONENT	EIGENVALUE
1	2.551
2	1.426
3	1.067

A Varimax rotation suggested that the three components were as follows:

Component 1: neighbourhood provision; neighbourhood activism

Component 2 : informal social control; trust; neighbourhood satisfaction

Component 3: internal networks; individual activism; informal social control

These results were confirmed using orthogonal rotation. Table 4.4 contains the components that were used throughout the regression analysis. Factor scores were summed and aggregated at the neighbourhood level, and it is the components below that will be referred to throughout the rest of the chapter.

Table 4.4: Neighbourhood Components emerging from PCA, with Neighbourhood Measures composition and loadings

	Neighbourhood Components		
Neighbourhood Measures	1. Neighbourhood Ownership	2. Neighbourhood Organisation	3. Neighbourhood Networks
Informal Social Control	.450		.450
Trust	.778		
Neighbourhood Satisfaction	.905		
Neighbourhood Activism		-.982	
Neighbourhood Provision		-.943	
Internal Networks			.787
Individual Activism			.714

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization

Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

(Each variable has been standardized to its z score).

Three Neighbourhood Components emerged and there were clear loadings onto each component, apart from Informal social control which loaded onto two different

components¹. The components related to processes and dynamics operating at the neighbourhood level, and will be referred to as Neighbourhood Components. After consideration they were named according to possible underlying themes within the Neighbourhood Measures included in the Components. Neighbourhood Ownership was felt to adequately summarise the Neighbourhood measures of informal social control, trust and neighbourhood satisfaction. These neighbourhood measures all contribute towards a feeling of ownership within the neighbourhood which may then result in acting individually or together to maintain or improve the area.

Neighbourhood activism and neighbourhood provision together formed Neighbourhood Organisation, named because the existence of activist groups and the provision of facilities and amenities together give an idea of the level of organisation within the neighbourhood. Finally, Neighbourhood Networks was felt to concisely summarise what underlies both neighbourhood networks and individual activism and informal social control; the underlying dimension being relationship and network. Informal social control although loading equally onto Ownership and Network in the Orthogonal rotation, loaded more heavily onto Neighbourhood Ownership in the Varimax rotation.

D. Regression

Regression allows us to see how much of the variance in the outcome/dependent variable is explained by a particular predictor/ independent variable². It also allows the relative importance of each predictor to be assessed, by ranking the standardised beta variables. A backward regression model was run using these components. In backward regression the contribution of each variable is calculated by SPSS. The

¹ Apart from this double loading of informal social control the output of the PCA is a very 'clean' result. Where each variable loads strongly onto only one component a 'simple structure' is produced. This outputs represents a simple structure apart from informal social control, which loads moderately onto two components. In such cases it is suggested that both orthogonal rotation techniques (eg Varimax) and oblique rotation (eg Direct Oblimin) be used (Pallant 2002:165). The rotation was therefore performed using Varimax and informal social control was found to load more strongly onto the component named Neighbourhood Ownership.

² Field (2000:103) states that is it incorrect to use the terms independent and dependent variables – as that would imply that the variables are measured at different points in time. As the variables are measured simultaneously it is more accurate to use the terms predictor variable and outcome variable.

significance of the t test for that predictor assesses the contribution of each predictor. This is then compared against a removal criterion. If it meets the removal criterion, i.e. if it is not making a statistically significant difference to the model, it is removed. The model is then re-estimated for the remaining predictors, and the contribution of the remaining predictors is reassessed (Field 2000:120).

1. Assumptions

There are several assumptions made when a regression model is run.

Sample size – here the issue is generalisability, how many cases are needed to make the findings generalisable to other samples. Stevens (1996:72) says ‘for social science research, about 15 subjects per predictor are needed for a reliable equation’. Trabachnick and Fidell (1996:132) offer a different approach where you take account the number of predictor variables, then: $N > 50 + 8m$, where m is the number of predictor variables. If step wise regression is used there should be a ratio of 40 cases for every predictor variable.

The data set meets both of these recommendations.

1. Multicollinearity and singularity – there should be no multicollinearity or singularity, i.e. where one predictor variable is actually a combination of other independent/ predictor variables. The use of principal component analysis has satisfied this assumption.
2. Outliers – regression is very sensitive to outliers and thus the data was continually checked for outliers. In addition, the SPSS syntax generator was set to exclude standardised residual variables about 3.3 or less than -3.3 (figure taken from Trabachnick and Fidell 1996:139).
3. Normality, linearity, homoscedasticity – the independence of the variables was checked by looking at a residual scatter plot.

It is important to note that regression modelling assumes that the sample is normal. The data set being used is not normal, it does not comply with the assumptions outlined above. However, if the sample is large enough it will be robust enough to withstand parametric testing of this type, even if it does not have a Gaussian distribution. There seems to be little convergence on what size might be adequate,

but Moltulsky suggests as long as there are at least two dozen data points in each group it will be safe to use parametric testing, (Motulsky 1995, chapter 37).

2. Regression at the neighbourhood level

Regression analysis was done using data at the neighbourhood level. Several regression models were run at the neighbourhood level, using different outcome variables. The choice to look at the data at the neighbourhood level rather than at the individual level, was due to the phenomena of interest occurring at the neighbourhood level rather than the individual level. The neighbourhood components and the neighbourhood and criterion measures, 'are more appropriately thought of as contextual variables that characterise the [neighbourhood] itself' (Saegert et al. 2002:202). The individual level data was simply aggregated to the neighbourhood level, in other words a mean value was assigned to each neighbourhood and that was the value used in the regression analyses.

Two models were done, using the same predictor variables and differing outcome variables, as detailed in Table 4.5. The first model, model 1, used the self-reported crime rate as the outcome variable and the second model used the rate of incivilities. Each of these criterion measures was measured at the individual levels and then an aggregate was used to represent the variable at the neighbourhood level. Factor scores, for the components discovered using PCA on the individual level data, were used as the predictor variables, in model 1a and model 2a. These two models were then run again, but this time an additional predictor variable was added, neighbourhood deprivation level. These models were labelled model 1b and model 2b. They were considered necessary to investigate how much of a predictive effect levels of neighbourhood deprivation might have on levels of crime within the neighbourhood.

A further model was run using neighbourhood deprivation as the outcome variable, in order to investigate the effect of the social capital components on this criterion measure, this was called model 3a. The results are detailed in the table below.

Table 4.5: Results of Regression Models at the Neighbourhood level.

MODEL	OUTCOME VARIABLE	PREDICTOR VARIABLES	R	RSQUARED
1a	Self reported delinquency	Neighbourhood Components	.475	.225
1b	Self reported delinquency	Neighbourhood Components + Nhood deprivation level	.520	.270
2a	Incivilities	Neighbourhood Components	.860	.740
2b	Incivilities	Neighbourhood Components + Nhood deprivation level	.876	.768
3a	Deprivation level	Neighbourhood Components	.679	.461

3. Evaluating the models

As the table shows the different models produced differing Rsquare values. The Rsquare demonstrates how much of the variance in the outcome variable is explained by the model. The Rsquare is typically expressed as a value like 0.740, however by moving the decimal point two places to the right it can be expressed as a percentage. The ANOVA table allows an assessment of the statistical significance of the Rsquare to be made. All of the models developed were statistically significant according to the ANOVA tables produced during the regressions.

The criterion measures of crime and incivilities are variables that are related to one another. Incivilities will embrace some incidences that are criminal, for instance graffiti which is also criminal damage, it will also embrace behaviours that are not classified as criminal, for instance groups of youths hanging around. The relationship between these two variables is more complex still as incivilities may include behaviours that whilst not directly criminal may be indicative of criminal activity. An example of this might be the presence of drug using apparatus lying around.

Although the presence of syringes is not analogous to criminal activity, it is probably an indicator of a chain of criminal activity, a chain which commences with drug dealing and finishes with drug using, and which may embrace various other forms of criminal activity in between, for instance theft to raise the funds for the purchasing of drugs.

The highest Rsquare value was for the model where incivilities was the outcome variable, as high as 0.740. In other words the model explained 74% of the variation within the amount of incivilities. When neighbourhood deprivation was added, model 2b, this increased to 76.8%. This was a good result, and suggests that model 2a has some predictive power.

When the same predictor variables were used but the outcome variable was level of crime, the Rsquare fell to 22.5% and 27%, when neighbourhood deprivation was added as an additional predictor variable. The difference in the explanatory power of these models may in part be explained by the overlapping concepts of crime and incivilities. As discussed incivilities includes a wider range of behaviour, some blatantly criminal and others on the continuum of the criminalisation process. So while incivilities is a broader category than crime, it may be that it includes more criminal behaviour than crime does. If this were the case then incivilities would be the most important outcome variable to seek an explanation for, through the use of regression analysis.

Model 3a, where neighbourhood deprivation was the outcome variable, had an Rsquare of 0.461. The neighbourhood components explained 46% of the variation in

deprivation. This model was done to investigate the role of deprivation in this area. Of course, there are countless variables which would need to be added to make this model realistic and of stronger predictive power. However the fact that the explanatory power of the model is fairly respectable confirms that the interaction between the criterion measures is complex and doubtless there is much overlap between the concepts and many shared determinants. This complexity cannot be addressed through the models developed here, they are much too simple. Nonetheless they are useful for the purpose of investigation into crime and incivilities and the neighbourhood.

4. Evaluating the predictor variables

Within each of the models there were a number of predictor variables. The standardised coefficients, labelled 'beta', allow us to appreciate the predictive strength of each of the predictor variables within the overall model. The coefficients are standardised, i.e. converted to the same scale, to enable their comparison. The largest beta value will represent the variable that contributed the most to the predictive power of the model, 'this means that this variable makes the strongest unique contribution to explaining the outcome variable, when the variance explained by all other variables in the model is controlled for' (Pallant 2002:146). Table 4.6 details the different models and their respective beta values.

Table 4.6: Evaluation of the predictor variables used in Neighbourhood level regression modelling.

		STANDARDISED COEFFICIENTS BETA			
Outcome variable		Nhood Ownership	Nhood Organisatio n	Nhood networks	Nhood deprivatio n
Crime	Model 1a	-.504	-.047	.135	-
	Model 1b	-.310	-.004	.152	.288
Incivilities	Model 2a	-.899	.022	.140	-
	Model 2b	-.748	.011	.154	.225
Deprivation	Model 3	-.672	-.148	-.062	-

For each of the models the predictor variable with the consistently highest beta value was neighbourhood ownership. As can be seen in Table 4.6 above the beta values for neighbourhood ownership ranged from -.899 to -.310. Interestingly the highest beta value was in model 2a, where the outcome variable was incivilities. This is perhaps not surprising as it seems an obvious connection that levels of neighbourhood ownership would be very important in determining the level of incivilities within a neighbourhood, as presumably if levels of Neighbourhood Ownership are high in a neighbourhood then there may be low levels of incivilities as people who feel ownership over the area they live in will be less likely to behave in disorderly or incivil ways and they will endeavour to keep other's disorderly behaviour under control.

The second most important predictor variable varied depending upon model specification. For explaining crime, in model 1a and 1b, neighbourhood networks were more important than neighbourhood organisation. However in model 1b, when neighbourhood deprivation was entered as a predictor variable, it had a higher beta

value than either of these social capital components, but remained less important than neighbourhood ownership.

When the outcome variable was incivilities the pattern was not so straightforward. In model 2a neighbourhood networks were more important than neighbourhood organisation, with beta values of 0.11 compared to 0.154. However in model 2b, when neighbourhood deprivation was entered as an additional predictor variable, this ceased to be the case, and neighbourhood deprivation was more important than either with a beta value of 0.225. When deprivation was brought into the model, the beta value of neighbourhood networks increased. This seems to confirm the traditional notion that networks are more important in deprived neighbourhoods. This finding is explored in the case study work, discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7, where it is suggested that strength of networks may be related to crime in different ways to traditionally thought. The qualitative work suggests that if the networks are of a certain type, internal or bonding, then they may fail to actively be able to control or stop crime. This is a hypothesis that depends on the deprivation level of the neighbourhood, where the neighbourhood is deprived it is essential to encourage the right sort of networks, as not all are helpful in controlling crime or incivilities.

E. Summary

This has been the first study within Scotland applying and assessing the construct of social capital and collective efficacy at a city-wide level. The project has taken much guidance from the work of Sampson and others in Chicago. Indeed it was the Chicago project that provided the initial grounds for a Scottish study that sought to explore common theoretical themes. While there have been many similarities between the Chicago project and the Edinburgh Study, there have also been important differences.

A key difference between the two studies was the size of neighbourhood studied. The neighbourhoods studied in Chicago were approximately composed of 8,000 residents, compared to 5,000 in Edinburgh. Furthermore considerable effort was

expended to delineate areas that were regarded as natural neighbourhoods, taking account of geographical features and local opinion. The size and shape of the neighbourhoods is crucial in such a study. If they are not mapped correctly they will be incapable of acting as a locus for the various neighbourhood measures which the survey is designed to measure. The qualitative analysis, discussed in chapters 5-7, suggests that there may be grounds for decreasing the size of the neighbourhood further still.

Like the Chicago project the starting point was social capital and collective efficacy. It was Sampson who reformulated collective efficacy, into something akin to social control and used it as a construct to explain why a neighbourhood may exhibit lower rates of crime. For Sampson the concept of social capital is subsumed within the concept of collective efficacy. However, the importation of these constructs into criminology have been hindered by inadequate operationalisation. Bandura's concept of collective efficacy is intricate, outlining an interactive process between the real and the perceived capabilities of the collective, influenced in complex ways by the self efficacy of individuals within the collective. The Edinburgh study has differed in how social capital has been understood and subsequently operationalised, and in advocating a fuller appreciation of collective efficacy in addition to that of social capital.

Through the use of varying research methods the research aimed to move towards the development of an *ecometrics*³. The use of a large scale household survey was vital for exploring and developing a set of neighbourhood measurements, which fully embraced the theoretical constructs of social capital and collective efficacy. Many of the instruments were taken and adapted from the questionnaire used in the Chicago Neighbourhood Project, but the aim was to explore underlying themes that might be shared by inevitably overlapping and inter-correlated measures. These themes, or components could then be used as essential measures of neighbourhood.

³ It was the Chicago Project that developed the idea of an 'ecometrics'; using it to describe a complete and systematic means of assessing the ecology of a neighbourhood or area. Sampson (1999) advocated the use of several different techniques in the achievement of this, amongst which was

Criterion measures were selected, with the plan that they would later be used in regression analysis. In agreement with Sampson these included incivilities, as well as crime, viewing incivilities as existing on the same continuum as crime and delinquency. Neighbourhood deprivation level was also selected as a Criteria measure. Correlations were found to be high amongst the Criterion measures, with neighbourhood deprivation and incivilities particularly strongly related (.670). Several indicators from the social capital and collective efficacy typologies were selected as Neighbourhood Measures. While some of these were strongly correlated with the Criterion measures, especially trust and informal social control, there were others that while having no significant relationship with the criterion measure were significantly related with other Neighbourhood Measures. These intercorrelations amongst the Neighbourhood Measures were the first indicator that the variables may work together in a complex and perhaps non-linear way in the causal pathway to crime and disorder, where perhaps some Neighbourhood Measures contributed positively or negatively to other Neighbourhood Measures which then contributed to the level of crime.

In order to further explore this hypothesis Principal Component Analysis was carried out. While previous research has identified social capital and collective efficacy as singular concepts, this study has acknowledged that this is not the case⁴ and that there is overlap within the two concepts, and through PCA was able to include a range of indicators of both concepts in the analysis. The PCA identified three different components, the Neighbourhood Components, that could then be used as a more complete proxy for social capital and collective efficacy. These components were carefully named to capture the underlying dimensions, an effort was made to apply accepted theoretical wisdom in this process.

Systematic Social Observation (SSO), a method which resource constraints excluded from the remit of the current project in Edinburgh.

⁴ this is not an assertion that social capital and collective efficacy are the same thing, rather that the way collective efficacy has been understood by criminologists has rendered it little more than another wording of informal social control. Collective efficacy as understood by Bandura remains separate from social capital.

Tentative regression modelling was done using the three Neighbourhood Components as predictor variables and the Criterion Measures as the outcome variables (this time using self reported delinquency rather than the recorded crime rate). The PCA enabled a wide range of the Neighbourhood measures to be included within the regression model, by loading several measures onto just three components. Regression analysis suggested that Neighbourhood Ownership, (comprising informal social control, trust and neighbourhood satisfaction), was the most important factor when it came to explaining crime, neighbourhood deprivation and incivilities, followed by Neighbourhood Organisation and then Neighbourhood Networks.

Two models were built, with initially two different outcome variables; crime and incivilities. Each time the three components were entered and then the model was repeated adding the neighbourhood deprivation variable. It was found that whilst the Neighbourhood Components had very high explanatory power, which will be discussed later, the neighbourhood deprivation variable made little difference to the model. Of the three Neighbourhood Components, Neighbourhood Ownership was consistently the most powerful predictor of crime, neighbourhood deprivation and incivilities⁵. In the first model, which looked at recorded crime, the neighbourhood deprivation variable added less than 5% of explanatory power to the model. The model which was the best fit for this outcome variable included the component Neighbourhood Ownership, explaining 21.5% of the variance in crime, with the addition of Neighbourhood Networks and Neighbourhood Organisation furnishing a further 1% explanation.

The second model had incivilities as the outcome variable and the Rsquare of the model increased further still. A model containing Neighbourhood Ownership and Neighbourhood Networks had a Rsquare of 0.746. A third model used neighbourhood deprivation as the outcome variable and found that the R square was

⁵ Initial exploratory statistics, looking at means and correlations, found that the criterion measures were closely correlated with each other (the correlation coefficient was 0.664 between crime rate and deprivation level). This finding is not a new finding, replicating earlier results from the Edinburgh Study (Smith 2002), but it does not seem to be discussed elsewhere. When correlations were done with the other neighbourhood measures it was striking that many of the measures had stronger relationships with incivilities or deprivation than with crime. However, the strength of the correlations supported the use of rotating the three criterion measures as outcome variables in later regression modelling. This produced striking results.

high. At .47, it was a less powerful model than the incivilities model, but more powerful than the crime model. This is difficult to explain, but is nonetheless a finding of note.

F. Discussion

The use of PCA to produce three Neighbourhood Components enabled the subsequent regression models to remain data rich. Neighbourhood Ownership was the component with the greatest predictive power regarding crime and incivilities, however this does not mean that the other two Neighbourhood Components, Neighbourhood Organisation and Neighbourhood Networks should be dismissed.

The initial investigation of means and subsequent correlation matrices revealed that although some neighbourhood measures were clearly related to crime, incivilities and deprivation (i.e. trust, informal social control and neighbourhood satisfaction), others were not significantly related to the criterion measures but were correlated with other neighbourhood measures (i.e. internal activism with trust and networks). This immediately suggests that the causal pathway with the neighbourhood towards crime and incivilities may be more complex than has been suggested.

Sampson's model of causation and crime within the neighbourhood, may be inadequate.

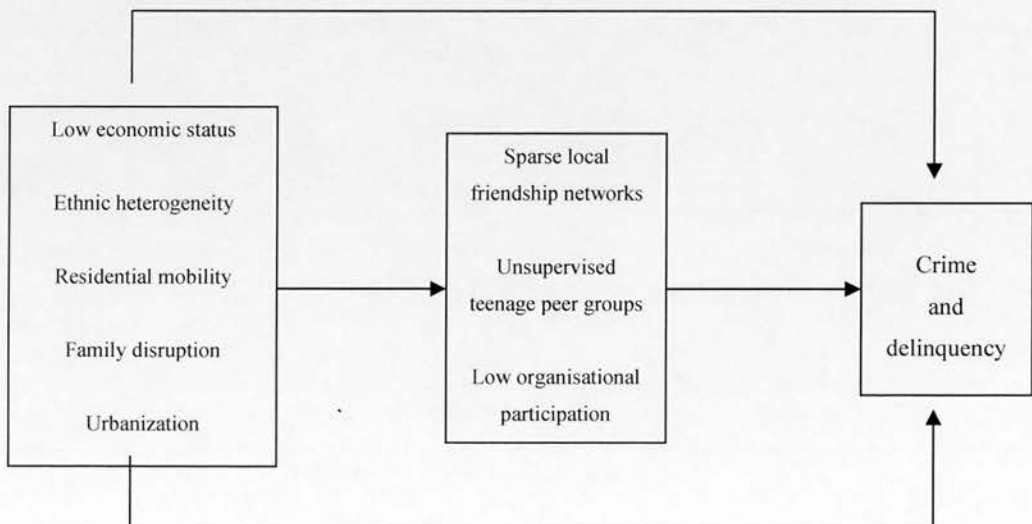


Figure 4.11: Sampson and Groves model of the causational pathway to crime and delinquency.

SOURCE: Sampson and Groves 1989:783.

For Sampson the starting point is neighbourhood deprivation which unless mediated by neighbourhood processes like collective efficacy and informal social control, will cause crime. Therefore collective efficacy acts as a mediating process. This causal pathway does not allow for the differential action of collective efficacy, in other words it is assumed that it will always decrease crime. Furthermore there is no awareness within the model of the differential types of social capital and their differential impact upon collective efficacy.

The findings of the research discussed in this chapter suggest that the causal pathway to crime is more complicated than this and probably not linear. It appears that the Neighbourhood Components, have an interactive feedback effect with one another, for instance if Neighbourhood Networks increase then Neighbourhood Ownership may increase, although this may be dependent on type of network. While Neighbourhood Ownership appears to be the last directly mediating factor on crime and incivilities, it may be strongly influenced by the other Neighbourhood Components.

It has been notable that the effects of neighbourhood deprivation have little effect on crime rate within a neighbourhood. This is something which was not found in the Chicago study. Smith (2002) has suggested that the reason that neighbourhood characteristics have such a strong effect on teenage delinquency may be down to the size of the neighbourhood in question. He observed that the Chicago neighbourhoods were considerably larger than the Edinburgh neighbourhoods, (8000, compared to 5000). It is also possible that greater efforts were made to delineate areas in Edinburgh that corresponded to contiguous, natural, ontological neighbourhoods already recognised contribute to the explanation of difference.

Unfortunately, as is often the case with research using the concept of social capital, this quantitative research has not addressed the political context of the neighbourhood, in other words how the neighbourhood relates in the vertical dimension, i.e. the ability to access resources and external sources of investment, financial or otherwise. This shortcoming will be investigated in the case study. It is hypothesised that this level of investment in the neighbourhood will be a key part of the causal pathway from deprivation to crime. Figure 4.12, developed in light of the quantitative findings, for investigation through the case work is as follows,

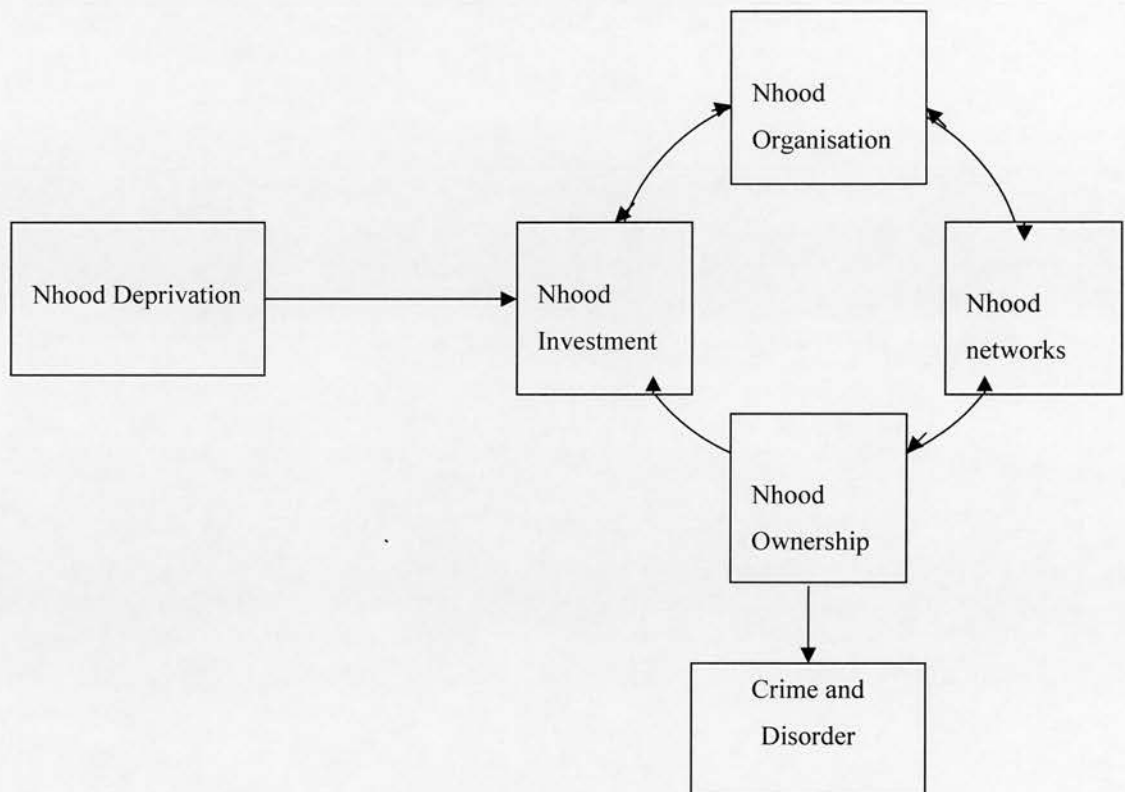


Figure 4.12: The causal pathway; from deprivation to crime and disorder

The importance of both crime and incivilities should be noted. The regression analysis suggested that the most powerful model was found when incivilities was the outcome variable, rather than crime. It is perhaps not surprising that incivilities should be more powerfully predicted by the Neighbourhood Components than crime. The presence of incivilities is important for understanding the criminality of a neighbourhood, for two distinct reasons. Firstly, where there are examples of uncivil

and disorderly behaviour, i.e. youths hanging about, or needles lying around, these may serve as symbolic representations of further criminal behaviour. The groups of youth may become involved in gang behaviour, which could escalate into incidences of theft, criminal damage or assault. Where there are needles lying around, this is indicative of drug use, and where drugs are used they are sold, and where drugs are sold there are numerous potentially criminal means behind the raising of drug money.

Secondly, as has been argued by Skogan in *Disorder and Decline*, and by Wilson and Kelling in their Broken Windows theory, incivilities and disorders are important because of the process they are a part of. They reason that high levels of incivilities will affect the networks within the neighbourhood and the way that people relate to one another. If relationships are damaged or stunted then people will stop going out at night due to feeling unsafe, and if people are not out and about at night, and the streets are left empty, there is far more opportunity for crime to occur. In this case the lack of networks acts as a causal mechanism that sees increased incivilities result in increased crime. Another explanation behind the incivilities thesis is that levels of incivilities affect the resident population by driving out those residents who are able to move elsewhere. This results in an influx of new residents into an already disorderly neighbourhood that may be perceived as dangerous and hostile. The very fact that the population has changed and is constantly changing will mean that crime rates increase. As William Julius Wilson argues, where there is a shift in population this will affect the crime rates (1987). The population change also has profound effects on the neighbourhood dynamics. It is difficult to form relationships with neighbours when they are constantly moving, and as a result of the exodus of many residents the neighbourhood could easily slip into 'sink' status, a neighbourhood where the most vulnerable and problematic people are sent to be housed.

G. Limitations of Research

1. The need for multilevel modelling

The use of simple regression when dealing with information like we have, individual and neighbourhood level, is problematic. When data is aggregated from lower level (individual response) to a higher level of analysis (neighbourhood) we lose information (known as the atomistic bias). Likewise, if we move data from the higher level down, applying it to the individual level data, the sample size becomes artificially inflated, resulting in the biasing of statistical tests (the ecological bias).

Regression is used to explore the relationship between one or more predictor variables and the outcome variable. However one of the assumptions of regression modelling is that the observations are independent, if some of the respondents are from the same neighbourhood, this will produce biased results (see Willms 1999:475). Traditional regression assumes that all the data is collected at the same level, this is not always the case, it is not the case in this research project.

Multilevel modelling allows the exploration of interaction between different variables at different levels of analysis. For example if a neighbourhood level variable is systematically related to a variation in the intercept, we know that that predictor affects the outcome variable independent of the individual level variables. Likewise, if a neighbourhood variable is consistently related to changes in the b coefficients, it will be mediating the effects of individual level variables.

Much of the developmental work in this area of statistics has been done within the body of research on school effects (Raudenbush and Bryk 1986). This is the research that looks at how much of a student's performance is a result of the effect of being within a certain school, rather than simply individual level variables, like parental education, personality, socio-economic status. At each higher level in multilevel the effects can be either fixed (where the variable has been included, for example school size), or random (what is left after the fixed effects). Rather than having to decide which is the most appropriate level to look at the data on, multilevel modelling

(Hierarchical Linear Modelling, HLM) allows the data to be looked at on several different levels simultaneously.

The HLM occurs at two stages

- i. The first step of analysis is done for each neighbourhood, using the individual level data. For example crime rate could be regressed using a number of individual level variables, like socio-economic status, class.
- ii. The second step takes the parameters from the first analysis and these become the outcome variables, for example recorded crime or delinquency is the outcome variable and the predictor variables are neighbourhood level variables/factors, describing neighbourhood processes.

Within a computer package like SPSS these two stages occur within one model.

To summarise, 'multilevel modelling is a method of analysis used to test the adequacy of mathematical models for summarising relationships among measured variables assessed within different clusters or groupings that form an hierarchical data structure' (Boyle and Willms 2001:143).

An illustration would be two individuals, who come from different neighbourhoods, and also differ in terms of socio economic background. The difference between their experience of crime will be either as a result of their differential socio economic status and the relationship between that and experience of crime, or as a result of the chance, random factors that would cause two individuals to differ in experience of crime. Patterson says that 'chance' relates to all those unmeasured influences that are at work on the two individuals (1996). In order to decide whether the 'chance' factors are responsible for the difference, it is useful to assess whether there is between or within neighbourhood difference. In an analysis that does not take account of neighbourhood the effects of those unmeasured influences would be overstated (Pateron 1996:17-18).

2. The need for Systematic Social Observation

If the task is to develop an econometrics, Sampson advocated the use of Systematic Social Observation (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999); a rather intimidating technical

process, involving considerable manpower and use of equipment. It was felt that it was inappropriate in the Edinburgh Study, simple observation was felt to be more realistic, for a research study carried out by a single researcher. This was briefly discussed in Chapter 3, where it was explained the use of SSO avoids any subjective measurement of incivilities, thus insuring that the statistics will not be affected by confusions between independent and dependent variables. It was also mentioned that the method of measurement used for incivilities within this study has been consistent with the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime, as a whole and would have been anomalous to have used a different measure.

3. The need for qualitative research

The survey has not been able to explore fully the importance of external networks at the quantitative level. This is a shortcoming resulting from the unrealistic expectation that respondents would possess the relevant knowledge of the neighbourhoods connections to external bodies and associations. Fortunately this aspect of social capital was explored in considerable depth through the qualitative case study work, with striking findings. This will be discussed in depth in the following chapters.

Conclusion

It is hoped that the current project has illustrated that this field of research can benefit from a pragmatic approach, looking at real, tangible neighbourhood processes. In pointing this out, it should be observed that a concept like social capital may provide a helpful theoretical platform from which to look at neighbourhoods, but the vagueness and lack of definitional precision, rather than being an advantage in this area may indeed be a hindrance. With the term social capital there remains a tendency to group any form of civil behaviour or expression as an unreserved good, particularly in the realm of 'community' and 'neighbourhood'. The data has shown that not all forms of networks are useful for creating a better neighbourhood within which to live. Indeed the distinction between bridging and bonding capital, which is delineated in the theoretical literature but has not traditionally been exported into the empirical work, remains a necessary and crucial distinction.

It is hoped that these measures and the resulting Neighbourhood Components have provided a reliable and important step towards an econometrics – enabled by the diversity of data from which they originate. The next step is to take these neighbourhood measures and the resulting Neighbourhood Components and to use them in multilevel regression analysis, exploring the inter and intra-neighbourhood variation with both self reported delinquency and recorded crime rates. However multilevel analysis is beyond the range of this thesis and the next step within this study is to turn to the qualitative data for greater clarification as to how the neighbourhood components operate on the ground.

It is clear that the quantitative research does not and perhaps cannot allow a full understanding of how well social capital and collective efficacy serve us as theoretical concepts in this field. The case study allows the exploration of how these concepts actually work on the ground. It is expected that the neighbourhood with the highest levels of crime will have the lowest levels of Neighbourhood Ownership, which will itself be closely connected with the levels of Neighbourhood Organisation and Neighbourhood Networks. The lack of political contextualisation until now, will be rectified through the introduction of a further typology centring around the level of investment in the neighbourhood. The next three chapters will look in depth at each of the neighbourhood components, allowing a full investigation of the causal pathway model discussed earlier (Figure 4.12).

CHAPTER 5: NEIGHBOURHOOD ORGANISATION

Introduction

The component Neighbourhood Organisation was made up of the variable neighbourhood provision, detailing the locally available amenities and facilities, and neighbourhood activism, which is concerned with participation and common purpose and also with wins, i.e. successful outcomes of activism at the neighbourhood level. It has long been hypothesised that an 'organised' neighbourhood will be a neighbourhood which experiences less crime. Social disorganisation theory argues that a neighbourhood with low levels of organisation, both structurally (i.e. concerned with agencies and organisations), and relationally (i.e. in terms of networks and relationships), will experience higher levels of crime than an 'organised' neighbourhood.

Neighbourhood Organisation is the first of the three Neighbourhood Components to be discussed within the qualitative account, because it affords an opportunity to contextualise the community and the neighbourhoods within it, which comprised the case study. From these community and neighbourhood profiles a neighbourhood typology was developed. The typology was concerned with the access to resources that the neighbourhood had received and was receiving at the time of the fieldwork, enabling the political context, usually omitted from social capital theory, to be held central to the analysis.

The state of the neighbourhood, i.e. the upkeep of the dwellings and the common space, seemed to set up a general template for how that neighbourhood would experience and deal with crime and incivilities. Regression analysis carried out in the previous chapter did not suggest that neighbourhood organisation played a very strong role in predicting crime or incivilities. However I want to propose that although it is not at the end of the causation chain it remains important for understanding how other processes and dynamics operate at the ground level. This will be discussed and then explored throughout the rest of this chapter and subsequently in chapters 6 and 7.

A. Contextualising the case study

1. Introduction

The original idea behind the case study was to investigate two neighbourhoods (as designated within the Edinburgh study) which were alike in all ways apart from the levels of crime. Two such neighbourhoods were selected, South Brae and North Brae. Initial investigation was commenced in 2000, contacts made and a degree of data collected. South Brae and North Brae were chosen as they matched the criteria for shared levels of socio-economic stress (according to the 1991 census data), yet the crime rates differed, with police recorded crime significantly higher in North Brae than in South.

It was decided to reopen the research into these neighbourhoods as the 2001 police data demonstrated the continued divergence in recorded crime rates. This time there was to be a sample of residents in addition to a sample of professional respondents. Preliminary investigation uncovered a third neighbourhood, contiguous to the other two, and included within the defining boundaries of Brae for the purposes of SIP (Social Inclusion Partnership) budgeting. It became necessary to widen the case study to these three neighbourhoods, South Brae, North Brae and Braeside.

2. The Area profile

The three neighbourhoods were part of what was known as one housing estate, Brae. During this thesis these neighbourhoods will be referred to as meta neighbourhoods, as they are each composed of a number of smaller micro neighbourhoods. They were located adjacent to one another, with the North and South contiguous. The neighbourhoods shared central facilities, which were mainly located within North Brae, consisting of shopping and leisure facilities, including a retail centre and a large cinema. Each of the neighbourhoods fell within the remit of the Brae SIP and therefore within the budget and service provision of the regeneration Partnership.

2.1 Past and present

The area, located on the Western edge of the city, has undergone considerable change, and has had an investment of some 150 million in the last twelve years. The

main road which runs through the area, through both North and South Brae, and close to Braeside, was once known as 'Thieves Road', formerly ill-famed as being the route for smugglers taking their goods through to the East of Scotland. Many of the current street names have their roots in the history of the area, which stretches back to Ethelred, in the ninth century (Sinclair 1987). The current area was mostly built in the late 1960's, early 1970's, with an original population of approximately 18 000 inhabitants. The dwellings built at this time were in response to the increased Edinburgh Corporation housing lists which had reached such a level that 'the only realistic way to make a dent in the waiting lists for houses in the Edinburgh area was to create a new city suburb' (Sinclair 1987:35).

The original designs precluded private gardens, offering instead communal squares with paving and trees and car-parking spaces (one per dwelling). Three schools were included and the Union Canal, which traversed the area, was covered over due to a chequered safety record. The original plans were altered due to lighting restrictions for winter time and the result was an increased number of high rise blocks of flats, the hope remained that 'Brae was going to be a very desirable residence which anyone would be proud to live in'.

This was not the case, with the area fast gaining a reputation as one of the most dangerous and crime ridden housing estates in Scotland. The Brae Partnership was originally established as part of the Government 'New Life for Urban Scotland' policy initiative in 1989 and has been responsible for much of the regeneration that has taken place in the area. In 1999 its status was altered, no longer 'New Life' it was agreed that there would be a 'Continuation Partnership' with a new strategy document called 'Maintaining the Momentum', which would carry the regeneration through until March 2002. The fieldwork began in March 2002, at a crucial juncture in the leadership and administration of urban funding in Brae. At this time what had been known as the Brae Partnership ended and continued as part of the Capital City Partnership, a group which was responsible for the West of Edinburgh, no longer simply confined to Brae. The likelihood of completed regeneration for the area

looked small, given the huge budget cuts and the widening of the remit to the West of Edinburgh, and there was a sense of this hopelessness among some of the workers

Shortly after Brae was built, in 1973 the existing tenants' groups amalgamated into a central tenants' association, known as Brae Association of Tenants. Later in 1977 community workshops were built and then in 1979 as a result of the newly formed Brae Urban Regeneration Action Committee, action groups and tenants' associations got their own buildings, or as they are colloquially affectionately known 'huts'. The Brae Community Council was officially set up in 1981 as an attempt to unite the different voices that had been speaking out. Its primary role was to function as 'the community development and resources agency for Brae'. In attempting to achieve this it brought together 20 member organisations, within which there were 8 community owned agencies, with voting rights and 12 neighbourhood councils, with the intention 'that these would be locally accountable committees of residents pursuing their own work plans for physical, social and cultural improvements in the area'. One employee of the Community Council commented that 'as an organisation we've got a name that is recognisable throughout the estate, and our reputation is there, whether deserved or not, is there throughout the estate'.

Currently 12 neighbourhood councils sit on the Community Council, representing the 12 neighbourhoods which the area has been divided into. The neighbourhood councils in turn appoint local people to represent the population of Brae. It was clear from observation and from interviews that each neighbourhood council operated differently, something that the Community Council was aware of,

I think some of them operate successfully and I think some of them have problems. I think some of them provide a valid service to people in terms of social events and the like. I am not convinced that all of them do the jobs that are intended for them, and some of them I didn't know if they were going to survive over the last year. I think on the whole some of them provide a service, in terms of providing social activity, some of them make a difference. I'm not convinced that they are providing coherent community policy for their area. The neighbourhoods are a good thing and on paper they are all providing a valid, needed service, a coherent community policy and coherent views, and on paper, that looks fantastic, absolutely wonderful.

So while there were some neighbourhood councils that were struggling and others were thriving this was in part explained by a recognition of the cyclical process of regeneration.

From the outset, Brae has been a place of lobbying, with constant petitioning for resources to be allocated to problems that needed to be addressed. The Community Council has been shaped and moulded not only by local needs but also by national policy objectives, and thus also curtailed by the budgetary constraints presented by the same national bodies.

2.2 Housing

Brae began as an exclusively local authority owned scheme of housing, but as the area has evolved, this too has changed. The housing market itself is made up of several players. The local housing association, was established in 1988, concerned with establishing more control over housing at a local level. Their first development was completed in 1992, since then the housing association has been involved in the re-development of four of the twelve neighbourhoods. In the most recent of these re-developments, the housing association entered into an agreement with a private house builder to provide homes for leasing and purchasing.

2.3 Socio-economic status¹

To understand Brae is to understand its very particular population. The latest population estimate was around 9,500. The population had declined from over 12,000 at the start of the Partnership, in 1989, due mainly to housing redevelopment, which included the demolition of 18 high rise blocks of flats. The population was young, 41% of residents were under 25 years of age, this was far higher than the city and higher than any of the other SIP areas in Edinburgh. In Brae 21% of households are lone parents, a number which had increased by 6% in the previous seven years. The unemployment rate was over three times as high as the city rate, at 19.6%, compared to 5.7% (using the ILO definition of unemployment, which included both

¹ The statistics which follow were taken from the CCP Social Justice in Edinburgh Statistical Picture and also from the Household Survey, which was undertaken in 1998 as part of the final evaluation of the New Life for Urban Scotland Initiative, commissioned by the Scottish Executive.

claimants and non-claimants). In April 2000 North and South Brae were ranked the second and third highest areas in the city for unemployment, with North Brae ranked number 1 and South Brae number 2 with regard to women is unemployment. The average household income in Brae was £7,700 per annum, ranking it the lowest SIP area, and representing a serious drop from the 1994 figure.

2.4 Health

Brae had a far higher rate of mortality in relation to people aged 0-64 years than the city and nearly half of all adults (48%) considered themselves to be suffering from a limiting long term illness, a phenomenon confirmed by a respondent who observed, 'the place is full of sickness'. There was also a higher rate of mental health referrals in Brae than for the rest of the city, in all age groups bar 45-64 year olds. Of all the SIP areas Brae had the highest rate of referrals in relation to young people aged 25-44 years.

2.5 Service provision

The Community Council was composed not only of neighbourhood representatives but also of voting members from the agencies at work within the area. These include:

- a community help and advice initiative
- a child care agency
- an arts and leisure project
- three different youth projects
- a health agency
- a drug support agency
- a land and property trust
- a local newspaper
- a local housing association.

In addition to these there were also dental and medical practices, three churches, a shopping centre and a cinema, three primary schools and a secondary school and a number of community centres and flats. There seemed to be a concentration of the services and agencies around the centre of the area, which was within North Brae. It

was significant that these services and amenities were not equally located within the neighbourhoods, this proved to have implications for the levels of neighbourhood organisation which in turn affected the amounts of ownership and networks found in the various neighbourhoods.

3. The Neighbourhood profiles

The three neighbourhoods, North Brae, South Brae and Braeside all had different identities. Each had a specific and unique housing market and socio-economic status and each had experienced different rates of criminal activity. It was the similarity of their housing and socio-economic demographics, yet their markedly differential experience of crime that resulted in their selection for the case study.

3.1 Housing

The majority of the housing association stock was found within South Brae, but there was some within North Brae, where almost one complete neighbourhood was association stock, with another neighbourhood having a proportion. The majority of North Brae was local authority stock, some of which was owner occupied, through the 'Right to Buy' scheme. Braeside had no housing association stock and was made up entirely of local authority dwellings, with an extremely high rate of owner occupiers, at 70%.

The housing association was set up in 1988 by a committee of local people who wanted better provision of homes within the area. The committee members are elected by members of the association annually and there is a professional staff body. The association receives its funding from the government through Scottish Homes, with up to £20million having been invested in the association at the time of fieldwork. The association has responsibility for entire neighbourhoods within the area, and in other neighbourhoods maintain only a partial presence. This results in some neighbourhoods being composed of housing association stock and local authority housing. Additionally the introduction of the Right to Buy scheme under Thatcher's government has resulted in owner occupiers living side by side these tenants. The most recently invested neighbourhoods also included housing built

specifically for private sale. The policy for buying these houses required the purchasers to have connections with the area, either past or present, ie. currently living in the area or having family members therein, in order to be able to buy a house there.

It was therefore possible to have four different types of resident in one neighbourhood; housing association tenant, local authority tenant, right to buy owner occupier and owner occupier. It was also conceivable that these tenants and home owners may not differ from each other drastically. The policy of the housing association which required buyers to have connections to the area resulted in people who would otherwise have been unable to buy property getting their foot on the property ladder. It also prevented outsiders from coming into the area solely to take advantage of the low housing prices. As will be confirmed later in this chapter, in the census update, the demographic character of the three neighbourhoods did not differ significantly, and would therefore suggest that the differential experience of crime was not explained by different types of people living in different neighbourhoods.

It is crucial to note that the portfolio of the housing association and the local authority differed significantly. The housing association stock was all relatively new, with the oldest property less than twenty years old. The local authority stock was generally older and in poorer condition, structurally and cosmetically. Furthermore, the size of the portfolios were different, with the housing association having approximately 840 properties at time of fieldwork, with the local authority having approximately 1560 properties.

3.2 Socio-economic status

The individual neighbourhoods shared the characteristics of neighbourhoods of socio-economic stress, although to differing degrees. The rate of unemployment in North Brae was two thirds of that in South Brae, and in Braeside unemployment was lower still at half the rate for South Brae. The proportion of over-crowding followed the same pattern, with the South having a far higher proportion of overcrowded households than the other two neighbourhoods. South Brae also had the highest

percentage of residents in social class 5, and the highest proportion of local authority housing. This same pattern was seen with the proportion of 10-24 year olds in the neighbourhood, and the proportion of migrants in the neighbourhood.

Table 5.1: Indicators of social and economic stress for the three case study neighbourhoods, data taken from the 1991 census.

	BRAE NORTH	BRAE SOUTH	BRAESIDE
Proportion unemployed	9.0	13.44	6.79
Proportion overcrowded households	3.32	6.05	2.71
Proportion of migrants in neighbourhood	9.09	20.59	9.64
Proportion local authority households	83.46	92.27	65.38
Proportion 10-24 year olds in neighbourhood	25.83	28.61	24.16
% SC3 (non-manual)	18.63	7.32	16.67
%SC4	25.49	21.95	25.00
%SC5	11.76	18.29	15.00

3.3 Census update

(a) Housing and Population

When the case study neighbourhoods were selected the demographic information was taken from the 1991 census. The census revealed that the initial two neighbourhoods were alike demographically but were dissimilar in terms of crime and deprivation. South Brae was more deprived, but North Brae had a higher crime rate. These two neighbourhoods were selected in order to explore whether there were different neighbourhood processes at work in the different areas that could explain the differing crime rates. The difference in deprivation level was particularly of interest as increased deprivation is often associated with increased criminality (Herbert 1977, Baldwin and Bottoms 1976, Mayhew et al. 1993), and yet the selected neighbourhoods did not show this correlation: rather the more deprived neighbourhood had less crime. A third neighbourhood was included within the case study, similar in demographic detail and midway in terms of deprivation and crime. This was adjacent to the other neighbourhoods and commonly regarded by those working and living there as part of the same area.

Since the selection of the neighbourhoods and the fieldwork and the analysis of the fieldwork, the 2001 census information had been made available. The new data revealed that the shape of the neighbourhoods had changed somewhat. Due to delayed release of data relating to ethnicity, a proxy deprivation variable was computed, containing all variables listed in chapter 4 except the migrant variable. The new deprivation levels for each of the neighbourhoods had decreased substantially. The third neighbourhood, Braeside, which at the time of the 1991 census was the least deprived of the three was now the most deprived. Deprivation levels in North Brae and South Brae had decreased substantially, and were now extremely similar at 2.74 and 2.64 respectively.

The actual shape of the neighbourhoods had also changed somewhat, with the number of output areas contained within Brae Side and North Brae increasing and decreasing within South Brae. This was indicative of the level of change that had occurred within the housing provision in the neighbourhoods. Braeside had not undergone any new development; the increase in output areas reflected reorganisation rather than redevelopment. On the other hand there had been substantial redevelopment in North Brae, including the demolition of high flats and construction of several new micro neighbourhoods being built. South Brae had experienced the most development, also including the demolition of many flats replaced primarily with housing rather than flats. This difference was also reflected in the 2001 census population data which revealed that while North Brae had experienced an increase in population (4313 to 4923), the population of South Brae had decreased (3862 to 2453), as had Braeside, although to a lesser scale (2811 to 2391).

The past decade had been significant for each of the neighbourhoods, although in different ways. South Brae had experienced the most investment and redevelopment, with a large decrease in local authority owned property and increased ownership and housing association property. These changes resulted in the population of the neighbourhood changing, with increased employment and home ownership. However, the policy requiring those buying property to be connected to the area, either through residence or family probably resulted in the population being less

different than otherwise would have been the case. Within North Brae new, dense neighbourhoods being built, had increased the population, from 1808 in 1991 to 2262 in 2001. Unemployment had also dropped. Interestingly while the North had a greater percentage of young people than before, the South did not, although the percentage remained greater than in North Brae (27.35% compared to 26.25%).

These changes raise the question whether the differences in crime rate and incivilities can be explained by compositional factors rather than contextual factors. Is it just that South Brae had a greater percentage of Housing Association properties and that they operated a stricter allocation policy and therefore were able to choose their population to a greater extent? While North Brae also had considerable Housing Association stock there remained a large pocket of local authority housing which could operate no such policy. Could the increased criminality be explained just by these compositional factors?

(b) Crime

The police recorded crime data was coded into the different neighbourhoods, using the post codes and GIS (Geographic Information Systems). The patterns that were found for the socio-economic stress indicators were not replicated in relation to the levels of crime. Although there was still a discernible pattern, this time it was North Brae that had the highest rates of crime, followed by Braeside and then by South Brae. The rate of police-recorded neighbourhood crime across all categories for 2001 was three times higher in North Brae than in South Brae, with Braeside being only slightly higher than South Brae. The rates of miscellaneous crime, car crime and theft and deception, were invariably at least three times higher in North Brae than in the South. The statistics for Braeside were similar to those for South Brae, with only minor variations. This same pattern was repeated for the rate of violent crime, neighbourhood vandalism and house breaking. The rate of neighbourhood drug crime was again highest in North Brae (21.6 per 1000 population), but was followed more closely in this case by Braeside (16.4), although the rate in South Brae was again much lower (5.4 per 1000 population).

Table 5.2: The 2001 police recorded crime rates (per 1000 population) for the three case study neighbourhoods

(POLICE RECORDED CRIME STATISTICS FOR 2001)	NORTH BRAE	SOUTH BRAE	BRAESID E
Neighbourhood crime rate per (1000 population)	257.83	84.41	90.00
Rate of neighbourhood miscellaneous crime	9.04	3.63	2.13
Rate of neighbourhood car crime	18.32	6.99	4.98
Rate of neighbourhood other theft	29.68	9.58	11.38
Rate of neighbourhood crime against courts	22.03	5.7	4.27
Rate of neighbourhood deception	20.64	3.88	0.71
Rate of neighbourhood violent crime	49.15	16.57	16.72
Rate of neighbourhood housebreaking	33.39	11.13	7.47
Rate of neighbourhood drug crime	21.56	5.44	16.36
Rate of neighbourhood vandalism	40.58	18.64	16.36

B. The research hypothesis

If the neighbourhoods were similar in demographic composition but different in criminal activity, how could this be explained? It was hypothesised (see Chapter 4) that the deprivation level of the neighbourhood is mediated by the level of investment in the neighbourhood, which in turn then affects levels of Neighbourhood Organisation and Neighbourhood Networks, which then determine the degree of Neighbourhood Ownership, which directly mediates the amount of crime and disorder within a neighbourhood.

C. The neighbourhood typology

There was much consideration as to how best to present the findings from the case study work. Indeed the number of interviews done combined with the length of the time spent in the field produced a great deal of data. Several options were explored, including presenting the findings on a neighbourhood by neighbourhood basis, or on a thematic basis, before finally deciding to develop a typology. The typology was developed in order to simplify the data in order that the findings could be drawn out in a clear and logical manner. However while data reduction was necessary in order to meet the confines of thesis requirements in terms of space, it did result in losing

some of the depth and richness which was to be found within the data. It was decided that it was preferable to develop a way of looking at the data thematically within the typology that made it easier to present the key findings. It was also felt that at a later stage it would be possible to return to the data, in its original form, and to present it in more depth in another arena. Clearly it would be a loss to never present the depth and richness of data which was uncovered through the case work process. The task then, of presenting the qualitative data in a way that complemented and did not work against the quantitative data was a considerable challenge. The typology, presented in terms of the three neighbourhood components uncovered through the statistical analysis enabled both types of data to be connected. The use of the neighbourhood components was decided after the data had been collected, it was superimposed on the data, as a framework for ordering the information and presenting it.

The initial design of looking at the three neighbourhoods and presenting the findings quite independently of the quantitative findings was rendered impossible when field work commenced and the actual make up of the three neighbourhoods was considerably more complex than anticipated. As field work progressed it became clear that there were links between the findings from the principal component analysis and the qualitative data that was being uncovered in the field. In this way the method really was required to adapt responsively and reflexively to the situation that was encountered through the research process.

The fundamental flaw with social capital theory when applied to the area of communities and crime is its failure to address the political context within which that neighbourhood is located. Coleman and Putnam have omitted this vital element from their theorising leading to fierce criticism by Bourdieu and others (Fine 2001). The political context is understood here to mean those relationships, connections and networks with the powerful upon which the neighbourhood depends for resources and investment. Assuredly these relationships do not operate in a political vacuum.

Putnam has gone some way towards correcting this failing of social capital theory by his development of the bridging/ bonding distinction. However this distinction has

yet to be applied to a study looking at issues of crime within neighbourhood. A more explicit awareness of the political context is required, in order to achieve this dimension within the analysis a neighbourhood typology was developed.

Practically, a typology of the different neighbourhoods, existing within the three meta-neighbourhoods (North Brae, South Brae and Braeside), was developed in order to simplify the process, and preserve anonymity. It was felt that the 10 discrete neighbourhoods which were studied (there were twelve such micro neighbourhoods in total which made up the meta neighbourhoods) would prove unwieldy².

Theoretically these smaller neighbourhoods (micro neighbourhoods, hereafter simply referred to as 'neighbourhoods'), whilst each unique, could be assigned into one of four groups, depending on their state at time of fieldwork. It is important to remember that while at the time of writing they fitted into a certain category, it is possible, indeed probable, that the group they belonged to would change as time progressed. The typology, which was developed to classify the different neighbourhoods, centred around the investment in the neighbourhood and the maintenance of the redevelopment that resulted from that investment. The regeneration plan, as implemented through the Brae partnership was applied differentially across the area, starting with the areas most in need, and leaving those considered less needy until last. At the time of fieldwork the partnership had been brought to a close and the regeneration, although not completed as originally planned, had come to an end.

The neighbourhoods were classified into four different types: 'invested' neighbourhoods, 'invested and maintained' neighbourhoods, 'invested and neglected' neighbourhoods and 'neglected' neighbourhoods, according to my analysis of the data and situation. This classificatory typology is my classification, it does not correspond with any official position. The levels of investment which a neighbourhood had received seemed to reflect to some extent their access to resources, and therefore reflected their relationship with those in power. Whilst there

² The three neighbourhoods were understood locally to consist of 12 separate smaller neighbourhoods, each with their own neighbourhood council which represented them in the overall neighbourhood representative council.

were dynamics operating in a top-down direction, with the resources being administered and controlled by those in power, there were dynamics at work from the bottom up, where those same resources were being petitioned and lobbied for by those on the ground, working or living within the neighbourhood. A typology which rested on levels of investment and maintenance thereafter, reflected these dynamics and struggles within the neighbourhood and between the neighbourhood and those who held the resources.

The group into which the neighbourhoods belonged had serious consequences often for their levels and types of social capital and collective efficacy. Without going into the complexities of causation at this stage, it was clear that certain types of neighbourhood were found to have certain amounts of social capital and collective efficacy. Each neighbourhood assigned to a type displayed some characteristics that were shared across that typology, whilst other features remained unique to that neighbourhood.

1. The 'invested' neighbourhood

There were two main neighbourhoods which belonged to this type. One had begun the process of redevelopment some time ago and had, with the completion of a number of homes for private sale, recently been concluded. The other had also undergone recent redevelopment, with many new homes built, some also by the private sector for private sale. Both these neighbourhoods largely consisted of housing association stock, although the latter still had a small pocket of council tenure left.

The first of these neighbourhoods was made up mostly of housing, with only a few flats. In this neighbourhood housing association tenants lived opposite home owners. Figure 5.1 shows housing association properties, while Figure 5.2 shows privately owned houses on the opposite side of the street.



Figure 5.1: Housing Association property in an invested neighbourhood



Figure 5.2: Owner Occupied property in an invested neighbourhood.

The second neighbourhood within this category tended to group tenure type. Figure 5.3 is of privately owned property.



Figure 5.3: Owner occupied property in the second invested neighbourhood

While Figure 5.4 features housing association property only which tended to be grouped at one end of the neighbourhood and often arranged in cul de sacs which prohibited vehicle access.

2. 'Invested and maintained' neighbourhoods

The second typology or category was 'invested and maintained' neighbourhoods, which embraced two neighbourhoods. Again both these consisted of housing association stock and both had undergone significant redevelopment in the 1980s. They had been maintained, either by residents or by the association, and this was reflected in how people seemed to feel about them.

Figure 5.5 shows a neighbourhood composed mainly of low rise flats (three stories). The neighbourhood has been well maintained.



Figure 5.4: Housing Association cul de sac in the second invested neighbourhood.



Figure 5.5: Housing Association flats in an invested and maintained neighbourhood

Businesses were sometimes located within the invested and maintained neighbourhoods, providing links to the private sector. These properties were also rented from the housing association (see Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.6: Housing Association property rented by businesses located on edge of an invested and maintained neighbourhood

One of the invested and maintained neighbourhoods consisted of three blocks of high rise flats (thirteen stories) (see Figure 5.7). The operation of an over 35s policy appeared to be responsible for the maintenance of the investment which they had received.



Figure 5.7: Invested and maintained neighbourhood composed of three blocks of high flats

3. 'Invested and neglected' neighbourhoods

The third typology was 'invested and neglected' neighbourhoods. Within this category fell the neighbourhoods which had at one stage received redevelopment and improvements but since seemed to have fallen back into ill-repair. Four neighbourhoods fell within this category, among which was a neighbourhood comprised of three blocks of 'high flats' (fourteen stories high). The high flats at one

stage had a high level of investment in terms of CCTV, security intercom systems and safety doors. As can be seen in Figure 5.8 the same flats had become neglected, with graffiti and vandalism common. To look at them at the time of fieldwork it was difficult to appreciate that they had been redeveloped, such was their slide back into a state where re-investment was badly needed.



Figure 5.8: Forecourt of the high flats within an invested and neglected neighbourhood

Other neighbourhoods had harling that was falling of the walls of the local authority owned dwellings, as in Figure 5.10. Graffiti and vandalism were a serious problem in these neighbourhoods. Figure 5.11 illustrates various insignias of local gangs within these neighbourhoods. New playgrounds had been put into the central square areas of one of these neighbourhoods. One of these had been burned down and then ripped out by local youths (see Figure 5.12). It had not been replaced. This is discussed later within the thesis in chapter 7.



Figure 5.9: A derelict building, formerly a 'community hut', within an invested and neglected neighbourhood



Figure 5.10: Structural problems within an invested and neglected neighbourhood; the harling is falling off the exterior of the dwelling.



Figure 5.11: Local gang insignias graffitied in an invested and neglected neighbourhood



Figure 5.12: Destroyed play area within an invested and neglected neighbourhood

4. 'Neglected' neighbourhoods.

The last category was that of the 'neglected' neighbourhood. These were neighbourhoods that had received little or no investment and had not been re-developed. Two neighbourhoods fell within this type – one located in the perceived centre of the estate and the other on the periphery.

The peripheral neighbourhood was mostly composed of 'two-ups, two-downs', small blocks of flats (see Figure 5.13). These were mostly owner occupied (70%) and had a relatively elderly population when compared with the rest of the area.



Figure 5.13: Flats within a neglected neighbourhood



Figure 5.14: Vandalised bus shelter outside sheltered accommodation in a neglected neighbourhood



Figure 5.15: Vandalised shops within a neglected neighbourhood



Figure 5.16: Graffiti in a doorway in a neglected neighbourhood

As seen in Figs 5.15-16 graffiti was a problem in these neighbourhoods. There were also safety issues with buildings that were derelict and doorways that could not be secured (see Figure 5.17, 5.18, & 5.19).

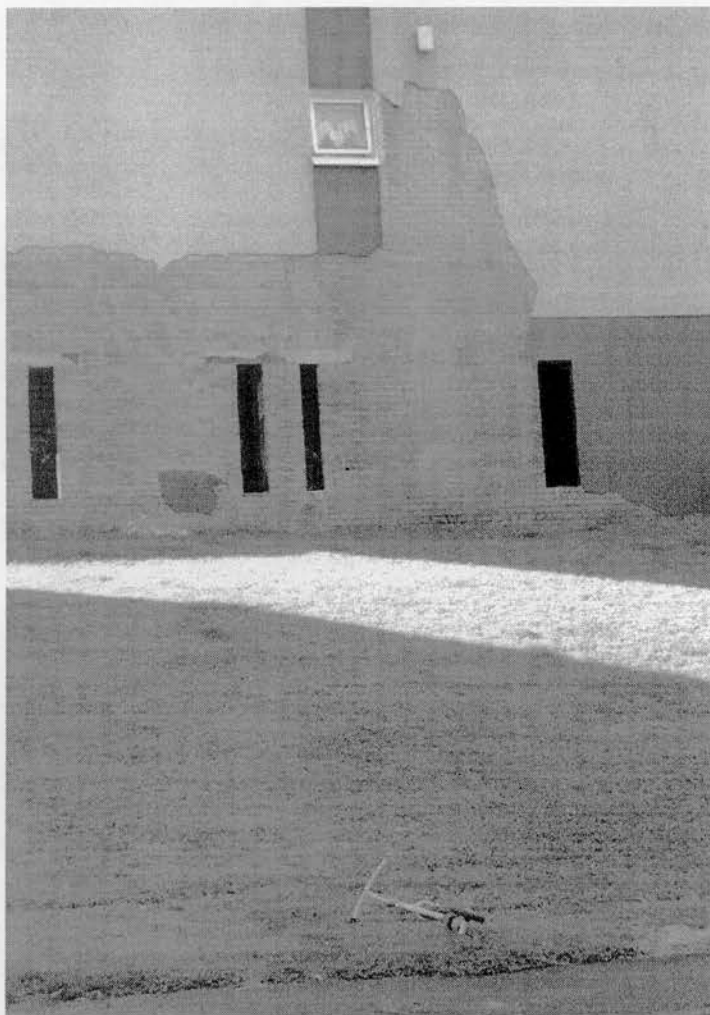


Figure 5.17: Derelict building in a neglected neighbourhood



Figure 5.18: Unsecured, vandalised doorways in a neglected neighbourhood



Figure 5.19: Unsecured, vandalised doorway within a neglected neighbourhood

The neighbourhood typology did not fit perfectly with the division of the area into three of the Edinburgh Study neighbourhoods, although there was an awareness among respondents of the existence of these three separate larger areas, aided by the existence of a railway track which divided the area into North and South and also a dual carriageway which separated the third neighbourhood off from the others. For the sake of differentiation, the three Edinburgh Study neighbourhoods will be referred to as meta neighbourhoods, and the neighbourhoods found within them, as micro neighbourhoods. The space covered by all three meta neighbourhoods will be referred to as the 'area'. There was an approximate association between the neighbourhood typology and the three meta neighbourhoods. The South meta neighbourhood, which had the lowest levels of crime, was made up of one invested micro neighbourhood and two further invested and maintained neighbourhoods. The North meta neighbourhood was composed of one invested neighbourhood, one invested and maintained, and the rest were neglected neighbourhoods. That particular invested neighbourhood had extremely low levels of bridging capital which helps explain why the presence of an invested neighbourhood in the meta neighbourhood of the North was unable to reduce the total crime rate. The third meta neighbourhood

was made up primarily of neglected micro neighbourhoods, with one invested micro neighbourhood that had been neglected. The crime levels for this meta neighbourhood were in between the other two. Interestingly there was an informal system of control operating in this area, which will be discussed later on. Due to an almost total lack of investment and a lack of bridging capital this area had a large stock of bonding capital. When these stocks of capital were coupled with a strong adult criminal network this resulted in tight informal social control, a pattern much like that found by Patillo (1998), in Chicago's Oakland, where the 'Black Mobsters' policed the neighbourhood, controlling the crime rate.

5. Summary

The neighbourhood typology was developed to enable the incorporation of the political context into the exploration of social capital and collective efficacy, within the framework outlined in chapter 4. It should be reinforced that the typology arose out of the research done, resulting from personal assimilation of observation, documentation and interviewing. It is a personal response to data collected and a means of ordering the analysis of the data. It is not in any way official or infallible and represents in my account the best way of categorising how the different micro neighbourhoods were.

Each of the variables discussed in conjunction with the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) will be explored, in addition to some of the indicators outlined in the conceptual typologies contained within chapter 4. Neighbourhood typologies will be used as a classification tool. By doing so, the political positioning of the neighbourhoods will remain in the foreground, whilst allowing the other topics to be fully discussed.

D. Neighbourhood Provision – services and amenities

1. The Neighbourhoods

Neighbourhood provision, one of the variables that made up the component Neighbourhood Organisation, was understood to mean the various facilities and

amenities which were located within the neighbourhood of residence. The case study was concerned to investigate the level of provision contained within the micro-neighbourhoods and, through so doing, to investigate the relationship between organisation and the stocks of social capital present and, how those stocks impacted collective efficacy.

The best facilities were usually found in the invested neighbourhoods and in the neglected neighbourhoods. Only one of the invested neighbourhoods had a primary school within the neighbourhood. This had significant pay-offs in terms of the networks it created by bringing together individuals from all the different parts of the neighbourhood. The school provided a focal point for the neighbourhood, not only uniting children from various backgrounds, but also their parents, through school-related activities and as a meeting place for other groups. The other neighbourhood did not have a school and there the local shop became the gathering point for the young people. This was intensely problematic as there were inadequate staff to handle such numbers of young people. Several incidences of theft and attempted arson resulted in the shop hiring 24-hour security for its premises.

The invested and maintained neighbourhoods tended not to have the same amount of facilities. It was more usual for these residents to have to walk to the adjacent neighbourhoods for a local shop or a service or agency.

The invested and neglected neighbourhoods had experienced occasional attempts to introduce additional agencies and services. These had mostly fallen by the wayside as the neighbourhood became less interested. One example would be the community flat which was built into the tower blocks for the purpose of providing a communal meeting place. The original intention had been that it would be open as a drop in place, but through the duration of fieldwork it was always locked up. There were no other examples of services or amenities that were located within these areas.

The neglected neighbourhoods had good access to both shops and services. One such neighbourhood on the periphery of the scheme had a row of shops, consisting of a baker, a newsagents, a hairdressers and a grocery shop. These were notorious as a

place where the young people hung out and consequently residents tended to treat them with caution, either avoiding them altogether, sending a man, or only going during the day light hours. The other neighbourhood which fell within this category was located right at the centre of the scheme, where the shopping centre and the majority of agencies were situated.

The nature of the territoriality which operated within some neighbourhoods affected how residents viewed the level of neighbourhood organisation, in terms of the services and facilities that were available. It was not uncommon for neighbourhoods to feel that there were adequate facilities available to them, although their individual uptake of these services often indicated that they felt these services were either not intended for them, or too far away to use. The exception were the neighbourhoods located in the peripheral area, where it was common to feel that there was poor service provision, as it was all concentrated at the centre of Brae, an area which they did not understand themselves to be within. Again territoriality acted as a bar to service uptake and sometimes awareness of service provision.

One theme that was common to all respondents was the felt lack of supermarkets in the locality. Although there was a Tesco in the North neighbourhood people often commented that it was unpredictable and constantly changed its stock. This made shopping very difficult for those on a budget which required careful planning and management of a shopping list. The other supermarket available was a Lidl, in the shopping centre itself. This was not particularly popular, as although it was cheap, the quality of the food, often imported tinned goods, was not considered to be good. Furthermore it had replaced a more reputable and more popular supermarket which remained the cause of some resentment.

Objectively the area as a whole had excellent service provision. There were doctors and dentists, vets and banks, supermarkets and chip shops, advice centres and schools. The shared opinion that the facilities were not as good as they should be or might be seemed to arise when specific services were located in another neighbourhood than the one the respondent lived in. This created such a bar to

2. Summary

The neighbourhoods with the most facilities tended to be either the invested or the neglected neighbourhoods, but this did not equate to similar attitudes or usage. The invested neighbourhoods, as a result of being newer, had campaigned for many of their facilities and this unified effort was still quite fresh in the minds of the residents. For them it was another indication that they had many things going on in their neighbourhoods and that their neighbourhood had a lot to offer, and was capable of achieving goals. Indeed the plethora of services available in these neighbourhoods could be interpreted as indicative of collective efficacy. The facilities within the neglected neighbourhoods tended to centre more around retail and as such were there with monetary aims rather than community building ideals. None of the respondents could remember a time when these facilities had not been there and they were rather taken for granted. The lack of facilities and amenities for the other neighbourhoods resulted in respondents often going without, as service uptake operated territorially. This attitude cemented bonding social capital, as people complained about their lack and refused to travel outside, or resented having to travel outside their neighbourhood to access these services. While it could have been an opportunity to create bridging capital by moving outside of their neighbourhoods to access services and amenities, the respondents seemed reluctant to do so.

E. Belief in the collective

Levels of belief were discussed in chapter 3 within the typology of collective efficacy. Although not included within the quantitative understanding of Neighbourhood Organisation, the case study had the freedom to investigate the concept more fully. It was felt that levels of belief in neighbourhood organisations could play an important role in whether people invested effort into them, being more likely to invest in an organisation which they believed to be successful, or to have a good chance of success in the future. In other words, without belief in itself it was unlikely that any collective would try very hard to achieve anything.

1. Invested neighbourhoods

The collective groups that had formed within these neighbourhoods had impressive memberships and good levels of bridging capital, i.e. they had 'reach'. As a result they got things done, and there was an awareness of their efforts and often visible results. One of the neighbourhoods was better than the other in terms of having a diverse membership base, for example there was a significant proportion of the local minority ethnic community involved and there was also a diverse age range. As discussed later, this was in large part due to the tenure mix and the location of the differently tenured property.

When respondents spoke of their perception of 'activists' it was as people who, like them, wanted a better, safer place in which to live. There were no stereotypes offered and the majority indicated an interest in being involved, were they to have more free time. There was a belief that the local neighbourhood councils worked and that they were well connected, in both areas by the housing association and in one by the police as well. There was also a belief that anyone, even themselves, could be a part of the neighbourhood group, should they be able to.

2. Invested and maintained neighbourhoods

In these neighbourhoods all the respondents were familiar with the work the local neighbourhood council was doing, with several having a long history of activism themselves. Those who had been on their councils and had come off were disillusioned and cynical about the process, whilst those who had not been involved or were currently involved believed fervently in the local neighbourhood council and what it could achieve.

Support and belief were patchy in comparison to the invested neighbourhoods. There was more of a sense of struggle, reinforced by the memory of past failures which seemed to remain with some of the respondents. There was also a feeling that the neighbourhood council was not for everybody. One respondent observed that she was, 'not bothered about the neighbourhood group, I'm not that sort of person'.

Others confirmed this idea that a neighbourhood activist was a busy body or somebody with time on their hands.

3. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

In these neighbourhoods there was a stereotype of what an activist was i.e. a busy body, and that was a barrier to people getting involved at the community level. It was also a discouragement to see no improvement in their neighbourhood in terms of housing and communal space. There were a couple of respondents who were on their neighbourhood councils and were obviously committed to the process, believing that they could get things done. Equally there were a couple of retired activists interviewed who had lost all sense of hope or belief that the neighbourhood councils could achieve anything, with memories of failed efforts still vivid and painful. The rest of the sample seemed indifferent to the efforts of the council, aware in part of their existence through the leaflet campaigns and the local newspaper, but not particularly interested.

4. Neglected neighbourhoods

Few of the respondents in these neighbourhoods had any real awareness of what the council was doing in their area. One had been an activist for years but had become discouraged by their lack of success and had stopped. Without knowledge of what they were doing, or instances of their success, it was clear that these neighbourhoods had very low levels of belief in the collective within their neighbourhood. One respondent felt,

At the end of the day, nothing gets done. People moan and moan but at the end of the day, it doesn't matter who you moan to, nothings going to get done about it. So I don't think it's worth it... It's something to keep people involved, you know and I suppose they feel like they are doing something, but at the end of the day I don't think it makes a difference anyway.

This pessimism and lack of belief was shared by other respondents, especially in the neighbourhoods that received little investment.

5. Summary

The different neighbourhoods had quite different beliefs about community. The invested neighbourhoods had high levels of belief, reinforced by the evidence around them. They had good buildings, good provisions, multiple agencies at work within the neighbourhood and already they had solved an issue of disorder by working together. There was a sense that they could achieve whatever they set their minds to, and 'they' meant anyone who wanted to be a part of the collective. There were no disbarring prejudices. The other neighbourhoods did not share this strength of belief. The invested and maintained neighbourhoods did have some sense of belief, and certainly the housing association being the principal landlord seemed to contribute to this, as there was evidence that things could get done. However as we moved towards the end of the continuum there was a decreasing sense of belief, with the neglected neighbourhoods feeling that nothing could or would get done. This resulted from a deep sense of having been failed by the local authority and let down in the regeneration programme. Interestingly there was some indication that people had invested belief in the local 'big men', or the 'Scottish boys', to run the area and keep law and order. This vesting of authority and informal social controls within an illegitimate criminal gang contributed to neighbourhood organisation in a different way. While on the one hand it increased the sense of organisation through this sense of belief that these men could get things done and maintain order, it also signalled a collapse and a rejection of more legitimate means of organisation, such as the local neighbourhood council and the police. This resulted in increased stocks of bonding capital that cemented local identity while further damaging the relationship with local services and external help and support.

F. Participation and common purpose

Despite the fact that participation and common purpose did not fall within the remit of the component Neighbourhood Organisation, as uncovered in chapter 4, it was developed within chapter 3 as a significant theme within the concept of collective efficacy. Again, as with 'belief', the case study afforded an opportunity to explore how participation and common purpose within neighbourhood organisations would affect levels of social capital and in turn levels of collective efficacy, understanding

it to be part of the qualitative understanding of the component Neighbourhood Organisation.

1. Invested neighbourhoods

The most impressive example of collective efficacy or Neighbourhood Ownership occurred in the most recently invested neighbourhood, when the neighbourhood council called a community meeting to discuss the youth disorder issue and to seek a solution. It resulted, as discussed later in chapter 7, in a number of different individuals and representatives of agencies and bodies coming together and producing an action plan to overcome the situation. This collective action taken to solve a problem, which it managed to do successfully, seemed to have significant repercussions for the neighbourhood. Suddenly there was a real feeling of 'neighbourhood' with increased attendance at the neighbourhood council and an influx of new ideas for further activities. A local neighbourhood watch was set up and the task of co-ordination taken on by two residents, one a housing association tenant and one a home-owner, who lived opposite each other. There was a neighbourhood 'fun day' organised, which was held during the summer months and a total of 1000 people were thought to have attended. It ran from morning to evening, with face painting, cake sales, a fire engine and a disco for kids, and then for adults when it was past the children's bed time. This gained them the reputation of being the best neighbourhood in the area, with great social events and people who were really interested in the neighbourhood. Part of the success was doubtless due to the involvement of the local school, the police, the community centre and the fire brigade, as well as the housing association and the neighbourhood council. Their community development worker acknowledged the importance of these different bodies in the success of the neighbourhood action. She also told how the neighbourhood council had already provisionally assigned a date for repeating the fun day the following year. They were riding high on a wave of success and were 'up for anything'. Another community worker had suggested that once a neighbourhood council had a 'win' they were more likely to go on to be successful again. It didn't matter if it was not anything very big, but solving a problem increased the shared esteem of a group of people working together. In the case of this neighbourhood their

success in solving the youth disorder problem achieved through working together, empowered them to continue working together and to tackle other issues, such as racism within the neighbourhood.

The other invested neighbourhood had not had the same degree of success to date with their problem of youth disorder. In some ways their problems were more intractable. The existence of a known gang (The Young [neighbourhood] Team), the residency of a few problem families and a divisive housing allocation pattern, resulted in a lack of bridging capital. This meant that their problems were more difficult to solve, and went deeper, than those in the newer neighbourhood.

2. Invested and maintained neighbourhoods

The neighbourhoods which fell within this category tended to have moderately active neighbourhood councils. It was still the case that most of the residents spoken to were aware of the neighbourhood council activities, but they were less obvious. They, like the other neighbourhoods, seemed to face more stereotypes of what it meant to be an activist. When people tried to explain why they were not involved it was often due to negative perceptions of the sort of people who were involved, and commonly, they felt that they were not like that.

3. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

The levels of participation seemed to be low in these areas. Few of the respondents were involved or knew anyone who was involved at the level of community. While some had at one stage been involved in community action or responsible for initiatives, there was now a reluctance to be a part of such things.

4. Neglected neighbourhoods

Participation was lowest in this type of neighbourhood. Some respondents had been involved in the past with community activism, but were now disillusioned and felt disenfranchised.

Data provided by the Community Council detailing which neighbourhoods consistently were represented at monthly meetings indicated that the neighbourhoods within the peripheral area, the neglected neighbourhoods, had the lowest turnout. This was surpassed only by the most recently invested neighbourhood. The data detailed neighbourhood activity for years 2000, 2001. At this time this neighbourhood was undergoing significant change, both through decanting and demolition and the more general process of redevelopment. The neglected neighbourhoods had no such explanation, and had apparently slipped further into disrepair and decay.

The statistics on social events organised by councils for their communities demonstrated that during 2000 most of the neighbourhoods had active social calendars. Again the recently redeveloped neighbourhood, considered by all to be the most 'successful', proved to be the exception to this. At that time the neighbourhood was unsettled and disjointed, since then it had successfully organised a number of social events. The most notable occurred during fieldwork and was estimated to have involved over 1000 people. This demonstrates the cyclical nature of neighbourhood involvement and activism. Whilst two or three years ago that neighbourhood was exhibiting low levels of collective efficacy, but at the time of fieldwork it was considered to be the success story.

5. Summary

Levels of participation and common purpose differed according to the different neighbourhood type. The invested neighbourhoods had the highest amounts of participation, although even here the neighbourhoods differed. While one was an exemplar of community action and problem solving the other failed to achieve the same degree of success. This can be partly explained by the different types of social capital present. The successful neighbourhood had small stocks of bonding capital resulting from a relatively new population, and what bonding capital there was, was amazingly democratic, resulting from the clever management of mixed tenure residents. Different types of tenure were found side by side creating bonding capital that had no divisions, this was in marked contrast to the other neighbourhood where

the neighbourhood was divided geographically and literally in terms of tenure type. This had resulted in the ghetto-isation of tenants and the separation of home-owners. There was bonding capital but it was divisive and exclusive, rendering common purpose a difficult and unachievable aim. There was a real lack of common purpose in the neglected neighbourhoods, where even if residents were to share opinions they lacked the infrastructure and the connections outside the neighbourhood (bridging capital) to take action.

G. Wins

As with the previous two sections wins was not included within the definition of the component Neighbourhood Organisation produced in chapter 4 through PCA. Wins, one of the indicators of collective efficacy, was discussed in chapter 3 and understood to refer to examples of successful collective action. It seems appropriate to develop this under the rubric of Neighbourhood Organisation, and to explore its implications for social capital and collective efficacy.

1. Invested neighbourhoods and invested and maintained neighbourhoods

1.1 Impact of tenure on the neighbourhood

The housing association neighbourhoods not only seemed better kept and maintained, they were better kept and maintained. This was in part due to the stair cleaning project that was being piloted at the time of fieldwork. It was also partly due to the incentive scheme offered by the association for the maintenance of private space. There was more open space, and they had given thought and resources to creating defensible space, trying to 'design out' crime.

The housing association appeared to be better at managing their tenants than the local authority was. There were many examples of more active and successful housing management on the part of the housing association. There were incentives (in the form of shopping vouchers) to keep up to date with rent payments and regular prizes for the best kept garden. One respondent described the incentive scheme and other things they organised as follows,

I know that they have like a council and they have a meeting every week. And I know at the moment they're trying to get a 5-a-side football pitch built for the older ones. There's a lot of community spirit as well. As I say, they have meetings and they put questionnaires through the door and ask you if you're unhappy with anything. Every three years you get, like things like get your windows cleaned, your front door painted. They have landscape gardeners coming round. They have garden competitions. If you pay your rent on time, they have an incentive that will give you a £10 voucher for Tesco. If it's maybe a wee bit behind they'll give you £5. Things like that, things that the council wouldn't do, they do.

There was a real interest in what the tenants wanted and this was evidenced by repeated door-knocking and surveying to gather feedback and suggestions. This in part arose from the origins of the association as the local housing association for the local people. There was a real desire to provide good service and continual attempts were made to get the tenants involved at the heart of the association. These attempts were often less than successful but were integral to the mission statement of the association.

All these benefits of being a housing association tenant, primarily the quality of housing, maintenance of the area and housing, and service provision, meant that people were less anxious to move out of the area, making the population more stable. Furthermore, in the neighbourhoods that were primarily housing association stock there were new houses built by private sector companies for purchase. This meant that in these areas there was the chance to buy property that was well designed and reasonably priced within your neighbourhood. They were therefore creating a chance to get on the property ladder whilst remaining in your neighbourhood. This compared with the council tenants who were known to be an unstable and transient population, whose option to buy the stock was severely limited by the reality of the unlikelihood of being able to sell it on.

Several respondents who had exercised their 'Right to Buy' complained of their predicaments of being stuck where they were. Despite personal investment and improvements made to their properties throughout the period of ownership there was very little hope that they could afford to sell. Many detailed the original price of the property, sometimes as low as £6,000 for a three-bedroomed flat, but then went on to discuss the disproportionately slow rise in value. Indeed, the properties were not

rising in tandem with the rest of Edinburgh, but seemed to be stuck at a far lower value. This effectively was leaving these owner-occupiers with no choice but to continue living there: if they sold they would not be able to afford to move out of the area, which seemed a common aim, unless they elected to go back to the rental market. All agreed that returning to being a tenant would be a backward step. There was a real sense that they had been let down by the 'Right to Buy' scheme and were now being penalised by not being able to get out of the area.

The neighbourhoods which fell into the second typology, those that had received investment and had been able to maintain that investment, were also managed by the local housing association. There remained a subtle difference between how well they managed to do things and the type of people who tended to be involved in community activism compared to the first type of neighbourhood. Unlike the invested neighbourhoods, which had privately owned houses, there were no such residents in either of these areas, resulting in less diversity in who had a stake in the neighbourhood. While the 'bonding capital' was fairly good, with the neighbourhood councils organising a reasonable amount of social occasions and remaining conscientious in their door-knocking and surveying campaigns, there were fewer agencies or external bodies involved in the everyday interests of the neighbourhood than for example in the invested neighbourhoods. The absence of schools or community centres or businesses within these neighbourhoods resulted in a lack of networks reaching outside the neighbourhood, with really only the residents, the housing association and some police involvement in the neighbourhood council. While the residents were still seeking answers to collective problems, in terms of youth disorder and canal danger, they seemed to have a narrower recourse than the neighbourhoods where there were a number of key players. The tendency in these neighbourhoods was to look to the housing association for solutions. Fortunately for the residents the housing association tended to keep on top of their stock and responded well, but it was significant that they did not look outside of their neighbourhood for solutions. The fact that there were no key agencies located within either of these neighbourhoods meant that the stake holders really were limited and

there was perhaps a stagnancy about the ideas and solutions recommended to the problems experienced within the neighbourhood.

2. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

A number of these neighbourhoods had had 'wins' – ranging from fences put around gardens to impressive security systems installed, and children's play areas. However in all but one of the neighbourhoods these had not been looked after. Indeed the children's play areas had been burned down and abandoned and the security system had not been very well maintained. In some of these neighbourhoods the problems posed by the population of children and teenagers was too great to tackle. It appeared that the young people were in control. One woman described the last time the kids burned the playground down,

they hang around and they end up in the streets and harassing with cars and people [...] I mean we used to have a play ground, or at least a play area out there. It had two little wooden, cabin-y type things. Until one child decided it would be a good idea to start a fire in one of them. And of course it burnt down, and they came and pulled it out. It took them about maybe two weeks until they managed to burn the other one down too. We were watching them, other people were watching them, but still they went on and burned it down.

This illustrates that in these neighbourhoods it was often the kids and the teenagers who were in control. There was no effective counter force present in the neighbourhoods, which typically had low levels of bonding capital. As they did not stand united, it seemed they did not stand at all.

3. Neglected neighbourhoods

There was no evidence of 'wins' in these areas

4. Summary

The different neighbourhood types experienced wins to different degrees. Perhaps the most significant factor here is the principal landlord and the implications that had for how residents felt about the neighbourhood. Many of the problems encountered on a daily basis related to issues of maintenance and up keep of residential and communal space. The respondents, regardless of neighbourhood, indicated a preference for the style of property management adopted by the local housing

association rather than that of the local authority. This was a sentiment that was universal regardless of neighbourhood or status of residency. As the tenancies in the invested neighbourhoods tended to be predominantly managed by the local housing association there was a sense of 'wins' in these neighbourhoods. In contrast, the other neighbourhoods, predominantly local authority, had a negative, pessimistic feeling about problem solving and a sense that the problems within their neighbourhood appeared to be intractable. This again had an isolating effect, creating distrust and rejection, eroding any bridging capital in existence and resulting in increasing bonding capital which was territorial and slightly antagonistic in some cases. This was in marked contrast with the invested neighbourhoods where the respondents were content with the maintenance of the area and the networks with the landlord were positive, in other words bridging capital was increasing.

H. Organisational tensions

Organisational tensions was not included within the understanding of the component Neighbourhood Organisation within chapter 4, nor did it fall within the typologies of chapter 3. However it became apparent during fieldwork that there were some tensions between some of the agencies and that to some extent they had different understanding of what neighbourhood organisation meant. Such differences of meaning are briefly outlined, in the hope that it will add further understanding as to how the neighbourhood was seeking to be organised by the professionals.

With so many different organisations and agencies located within the area there were inevitable overlaps and tensions. The primary issue seemed to revolve around the definition and understanding of 'community'. The community advice centre and the Community Council were the two largest bodies operating within the community and they took different positions on what needed to be done and how to achieve it. One worker at the Advice centre maintained,

I think its important that we have the Community Council, certainly representing an organised community... but we almost operate and identify that work with a community that's different from their community. So when [they] talk about the community, well, I, you know. Every time [they] mention the community, I mean, I don't ... I imagine it in for instance, I see quotation marks round the community. And to me it's quite often they're talking about a different animal, in terms of how we see it. So they're in the

organised community, I think there is probably a bit of community spirit, it's well fostered, its well supported by the Community Council, in terms of the democracy of it, it's got a clear structure, a positive structure [...] however having said that, I think the community who we work with, are probably less able than their community. That's partly because we don't work with our community as such, we work with individuals - the other part of the community [...] that by and large does not participate in the community. The Community Council don't engage with these communities. In fact very often in a lot of cases they don't engage with any of the recognised structures within the wider community. They don't engage with the statutory sector other than when they are forced to.

He went on to discuss the danger of professionalising the community,

I think it has been professionalised, which is kind of good as it is easy for us to work together but I think in professionalising it sometimes excludes, particularly the communities here [...] and I think they tend to say 'I can't be bothered with it, its not for me. It's not for the likes of you, its for somebody else' and I think that's part of the problem... because then it's become professionalised.

As will be discussed in the chapter on Neighbourhood Ownership the approaches taken by the different agencies and organisations had significant consequences for how they were viewed and trusted by the residents within the different neighbourhoods.

Summary

It was clear that there existed a degree of tension between the different community agencies. However this was quite openly acknowledged and did not appear to be an insurmountable hurdle to working within the community. However it did appear that each of the agencies had quite clear delineations and definitions of who their community was, and this sometimes resulted in a 'together alone' approach. This may have had an impact on the extent to which bridging capital was able to create further networks with different agents. This was something that was not fully explored within the research.

Conclusion

The neighbourhood typology allowed each neighbourhood to be placed on the political continuum, with the 'invested' neighbourhoods having ready and recent access to resources, and the 'neglected' neighbourhoods at the other end of the

continuum with no such access to resources. Through the use of the typology it becomes possible to see the correlation between neighbourhood type and the stocks of social capital, whether bridging and bonding, and the subsequent amounts of collective efficacy that they contribute towards.

It appeared the level of organisation within a neighbourhood acted as a building block upon which social capital could be developed. The level of organisation affected how residents could improve their neighbourhood, although it could equally be argued that the degree to which a neighbourhood experienced improvements determined the strength of neighbourhood organisation. From this research it is not possible to say whether the causal influence ran from level of organisation to neighbourhood improvement, or from improvement to organisation; the causal arrows may point in both directions. If they had strong neighbourhood networks and organisations involved in lobbying the relevant groups, external to the neighbourhood, for improvements and investments, this strengthened the structures already in place. As Bandura explained, collective efficacy, like self efficacy, is self-referencing to a degree; where there have been successes it is more likely that the group or individual will perceive these to be repeated in the future, in other words the belief in the ability to succeed and hence future success, are in part shaped by past experiences.

Levels of belief varied depending on the visual evidence to justify belief. This tended to be clearly broken down by principal landlord. Where the local housing association was in the majority there were higher levels of bridging as the association managed their stock well, and they tended to be present in the invested neighbourhoods. Where the neighbourhoods were neglected they were local authority areas, and stocks of bridging capital were low, compounded by the evidence of neglect and omission to fulfil landlord/ tenant duties.

Common purpose seemed to be largely in the hands of the landlords again, but this time it was related to their housing allocation policy, in terms of tenure mix and tenure location. There were two clear examples in the invested neighbourhoods where one had tenure mixed side by side, creating positive bonding capital. Another

had tenure segregation, which produced segregated and ghettoised bonding capital and consequently inhibited bridging capital.

The wins affected social capital at a very basic level. They were determined by the state of your home and what the resident could see from their window. This contributed to whether they could trust their landlord. There was a very clear divide between the two landlords here again, with the local housing associations coming out very positively.

While the analysis on the quantitative neighbourhood study indicated that Neighbourhood Organisation was not particularly important in determining the level of crime or incivilities, the case study did not concur. It appeared that Neighbourhood Organisation played a vital role in the reduction of crime, providing the back drop for collective efficacy, whether that was manifested in informal social control or other group solutions. It became clear from the qualitative data analysis that Neighbourhood Organisation occupied an important role in the causation process, mediating to some extent the amount of Neighbourhood Ownership exhibited. It was not alone in this process, with Neighbourhood Investment playing a similar role. The following chapter looks at Neighbourhood Investment and the role which it played in the causal pathway to crime and disorder.

CHAPTER 6: NEIGHBOURHOOD NETWORKS

Introduction

According to the Principal Component Analysis a single component undergirded the measures of internal networks and individual activism. This component, which I have called Neighbourhood Networks, was explored using qualitative techniques of interviews and observation. It was found that when people discussed the networks they were a part of within their neighbourhood, it was not uncommon for them to include ideas of community activism and community spirit within the discussion. It was apparent that while neighbourhood activism was not the sole source of network creation, it facilitated networks to be formed and strengthened.

Hope outlined the horizontal and vertical dimensions operating within a neighbourhood or community,

a “horizontal” dimension of social relations among individuals and groups sharing a common residential space. This dimension refers to the often complex expressions of affection, loyalty, reciprocity, or dominance among residents, whether expressed through informal relationships or organised activities. Second, there is a “vertical” dimension of relations that connect local institutions to sources of power and resources in the wider civil society of which the locality is acknowledged to be a part (Hope 1995:24).

Crucially, Hope went on to discuss how the horizontal and the vertical dimensions interact with each other, asserting that,

while the principal mechanisms for maintaining local order may be expressed primarily through the horizontal dimension, the *strength* of this expression – and hence its effectiveness in controlling crime – derives, in large part, from the vertical connections that residents of localities have to extracommunal resources (Hope 1995:24).

Whilst there are obvious similarities between this horizontal/ vertical dimension and the bridging/ bonding distinction, Hope offers something more than social capital theory. In addressing both dimensions, Hope is concerned with their interactive effect on one another. As yet social capitalists have done little exploring into the interactive effects of bridging and bonding capital. Hope also acknowledges the role that resources play in the equation, again something which social capitalists have tended to ignore. This chapter explores the nature of networks, using both Putnam’s

bridging and bonding distinction (1999) and also Hope's vertical and horizontal dimension (1995). It is hoped that by importing some of Hope's theorising into social capital theory, the lack of theoretical attention to the interactive effects and the resource/ political context can be rectified.

Again the neighbourhood typology is useful in demonstrating the diverging levels of networks and stocks of social capital, whether bridging or bonding, between the different neighbourhood categories, according to level of investment. This further confirms that social capital is intricately interwoven with the political positioning of a neighbourhood. Where the neighbourhood has been invested in recently the levels of social capital will correspondingly be high, i.e. recently successful networks extending outwith the neighbourhood will produce bridging capital. Where the investment is recent it is likely that there will have been an influx of residents into the neighbourhood and this is reflected in relatively low levels of bonding capital. Contrasting with the less recently invested neighbourhoods where the investment is being maintained, the links to agencies and organisations outside the neighbourhood may have weakened with time. Often a reliance on the neighbourhood itself for maintenance and upkeep coupled with longer periods of residency produce higher stocks of bonding capital.

The neighbourhoods that had been invested in some time ago but had not managed to maintain the improvements often had low levels of bridging capital, usually as a result of the perceived failure of the external bodies and agencies to improve the standard of living in their neighbourhood. There were commonly low levels of bonding capital here also, although some neighbourhoods were higher than others.

The neglected neighbourhoods had very low, if not non existent stocks of bridging capital, feeling let down by the external agencies and bodies which they no longer trusted or looked toward for solutions to the various problems within their neighbourhood. Often there were fairly high levels of bonding capital, resulting from long tenure within the neighbourhoods. It was usual for this to be particularly high in areas of the neighbourhood where people had been resident for years, having raised their family there and stayed on. There were other areas of the neighbourhoods

where the population was very transient, with people passing through, with a concentration of more vulnerable individuals remaining. So, while in certain areas bonding capital was high, in other areas it was non-existent.

A. Internal networks – bonding capital

Internal networks refers to that range of relationships which are found within the neighbourhoods, primarily between neighbours and family resident within the neighbourhood. This is what Hope described as the horizontal dimension.

1. Invested neighbourhoods

Several of the respondents within these neighbourhoods felt that community feeling was high and that it was in part attributable to the role of the housing association encouraging events and administering incentive schemes. Within these neighbourhoods there was the most diverse tenure mix and this diversity was mirrored in respondents' attitude to community spirit. It was common for the homeowners to feel there was a high level of community spirit, but that it existed more for the tenants than for themselves.

This diversity of opinion carried over into the role of neighbours. Again homeowners felt that they had less of a need for neighbourly contact, with one family man, having 'not really met anyone in two years'. Another tenant had never known her neighbours, finding it was,

enough just to say hello, and that's it. You know I don't tell them any of my business. And I've never, I'm just not that kind of person [...] I mean I dinnae go over and knock their door for coffee and things.

Notwithstanding the apparent lack of 'neighbourliness', every respondent felt they would be able to ask small favours of their neighbours if the need should arise. There were often informal arrangements that neighbours watched cars or windows if they were in blind spots. It seemed that while it was uncommon to be close with ones neighbours it was common to feel they could be trusted for minor things, and relied upon for small acts of kindness.

A majority of the respondents had extensive networks outside of the neighbourhoods where they lived. It was more common for these residents to be employed and that automatically created external contacts. Also it was more likely that they had chosen to move into this neighbourhood deliberately, rather than being allocated to the area by the local authority. This was especially the case for those who had bought newly built homes. In one of the neighbourhoods, there were specific criteria for buying, one of which was that the purchaser should have a connection, past or present with the area. This materialised in one partner often having family within the area, but not necessarily within the neighbourhood, resulting in the existence of internal networks. This discernible lack of bonding capital had implications for how new comers felt coming to the neighbourhoods,

a couple of times, my friend who lives in the flats, we had gone across to the local pub. It's actually a very nice pub, I was surprised, I half expected it to be a bit of a dive. It was really nice, and if it was in town, it would be raking the money in... it was really nice. And then we went and got chips. But I think the pair of us felt a little bit out of our depth. You always feel like you stand out a million miles. I don't feel like I stand out quite so much with a baby in a pram. But yes, we both felt we stood out. It was probably just ourselves, because of the things we're not used to. But no, it was great and everybody was really nice. It's an awful thing to say because you should be expecting people to be friendly. Yes. It was really pleasant, but apart from that I haven't really gone across again.

This distance, i.e. lack of bonding capital with those around you in the neighbourhood, was something that seemed to remain, even when resident for a longer period of time,

I never really knew anyone up here. But you get to know them, enough just to say hello, and that's it. You know I don't tell them any of my business. And I've never, I'm just not that sort of person. I have always got a wee bit of mistrust. I never tell anyone my business and I don't get too close to them. I mean, I dinnae go over and knock their door and go in for coffee and things like that. I've got far too much going on myself to be bothered with other people's business.

The above discussion illustrates that although the respondents purported to have weak neighbourly ties, this did not seem to lessen the degree of reciprocation which occurred. Clearly though there was a reliance on networks which extended outwith the neighbourhood, which had implications for levels of trust therein. Indeed it was clear that the amount of bonding capital was overshadowed by the strength of bridging capital within these neighbourhoods.

2. Invested and maintained neighbourhoods

Again in these neighbourhoods there was a tendency to place less importance on neighbourly relations. Family members were relied upon instead for the bigger favours, which required greater levels of trust. One respondent did not know her neighbours at all, preferring 'just a quick hello, how are you. And then on we go [...] that's how I want to keep it'. One respondent who was a community activist described how the community work she was involved with attempted to overcome this,

I think it adds [community spirit], I think it helps you know if you've got community spirit within an area, because it's a way of getting to know your other neighbours. And a way to organise social events. Because the Community council have a social committee and they organise a yearly dance. And anybody can go to that, and they organise quiz nights. And it's a good way for the people from the neighbourhood council to get people along to the quiz nights. We can form a team or two teams and take part in the community quiz. We do have other things on as well, the social events side, they do a lot of things like that. [...] I'm sure there are a lot of people out there that would love to be involved but can't for obvious reasons, i.e. work or whatever. But I'm sure if they weren't working, I'm sure they would come along and join us. Others do miss out. You know, possibly because of the apathy, the apathetic attitude they have.

It was still common to perform small acts of neighbourliness, notwithstanding the reluctance to engage socially with the neighbourhood at large. The majority of respondents were more than happy to help out and felt that their neighbours would reciprocate should it ever be required.

The networks in this type of neighbourhood did not seem to extend as far as in the invested neighbourhoods. While it was usual for family members to live outside the neighbourhood, it was more common that there were close friends within the neighbourhood, and the immediate neighbours were often claimed as trustworthy. There was not as much come and go in these neighbourhoods, with a more settled steady population. There remained a section that was transient, and they were acknowledged as such, remaining outside the perceived 'core' of neighbourhood residency, often made up of older couples and individuals who had commonly been there since they had a young family.

The levels of bonding capital were a bit higher in this type of neighbourhood and the levels of bridging capital were lower. The reach of the respondents in these

neighbourhoods did not appear to extend just as far as in the 'invested' neighbourhoods, although they maintained a good working relationship with the police and the local landlord.

3. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

Four neighbourhoods fell within this type, and whilst they were similar in part, there were significant differences also, namely with regard to the group of high rise flats which composed one neighbourhood. There were the lowest levels of community spirit within the high rise neighbourhood, with people feeling they lived in 'a rabbit hutch' which afforded no opportunities for getting to know your neighbours. Despite this, due to the drugs war that was going on in the area, there was a general feeling of 'us against them', which seemed to have created some sort of solidarity amongst some residents, at least in abstract terms, if not practically. The other neighbourhoods were all alike in that the levels of community spirit were perceived to be quite good. There was a difference in the estimation of the importance of community spirit in these areas, with the home owners feeling it was of less relevance to them, than to the tenants.

Again there was a proliferation of examples of good neighbouring, with reciprocated favours being the norm. However there was a feeling that had arisen in some of the other neighbourhoods, that the minority ethnic groups were insular and only looked to each other for help. One respondent felt that the secret to good neighbours was to 'be friendly not familiar'. However due to her location in a semi-detached house on the periphery of the neighbourhood, this was easier for her to manage than it was for some other residents. The exception to this was the group of high rise flats where it was more common to be strangers with those around you, not even making eye contact when meeting someone in the lift or in the hall.

It was more usual for friends and family to be living within the same neighbourhoods. It was less common for keys to be given to members of families or friends who lived in a different area, they were more likely to be kept within the same neighbourhood. Many of the respondents had lived for a period of over 10

years in these neighbourhoods, and there seemed to be well established internal networks.

In this type of neighbourhood, there seemed to be hardly any bridging capital. Whatever bridging capital had been created through investment in the past had been eroded as the improvements were not maintained and they spiralled into disrepair, leaving the residents feeling let down. The bonding capital tended to be higher with a concentration of long term residents, with very strong networks. Clearly they were not only composed of long term residents, with these neighbourhoods having a proportion of the more vulnerable and transient populations. This did not contribute in any positive manner to the levels of social capital within the neighbourhoods, nor did it interfere with the bonding capital/ internal networks already in existence, as there was an acknowledged pattern of transience within the sub-population, who were treated as outsiders, or passers-through by the longer term residents.

4. Neglected neighbourhoods

One of the neighbourhoods within this group was commonly regarded as having the highest levels of community spirit within the whole area. This was the neighbourhood that had been prioritised as last to receive any community redevelopment. This was a decision taken by the Community Council, where the neighbourhood put themselves forward as least in need of the redevelopment at the time and agreed to be last in the regeneration process. Although not in need of redevelopment at the time of the Partnership prioritising, at the time of the field work this neighbourhood was badly needing investment, both in terms of the state of the housing and public space and the facilities provided. This volunteering in itself was an example of significant community spirit. The neighbourhood was made up mostly of owner occupiers (estimated at 70% of the population), with a large number of retired residents. There was a strong feeling of community spirit that had developed over years of living together and raising children together. There was a school and some shops which also seemed to contribute to the feeling of community, not to mention their location on the periphery of the area which reinforced the notion of

‘solidarity and togetherness’, as they rejected sharing the identity of the area, preferring to assert their difference.

The strength of neighbourliness was again quite high and many of the residents were long term, providing a degree of shared experience which had resulted in the development of strong friendships. People were friendly and it was common for neighbours to do each other favours, and to look out for each other. The stairs where respondents were interviewed all seemed to know their neighbours. It was common for keys to be lodged with neighbours, and for real friendships to exist. There was a feeling that they had done their living together, raised their children together and now many of them were near to retirement.

Within each of the neighbourhoods there was a sense that each neighbourhood was a discrete area, containing everything they needed. One of the neighbourhoods was situated at the centre of the estate, adjacent to most of the amenities and services. Typically respondents felt that these were their amenities and included this area within their neighbourhood. This cemented the feelings of self-sufficiency which they shared with the other neighbourhood. The majority of respondents had family living within the same neighbourhood or the adjacent neighbourhood, and many had old friends who lived nearby. The length of residence was often ten years or more.

Within these neighbourhoods the stocks of bonding social capital were at their highest. Networks of families and friends existed within the neighbourhood itself, as well as amenities and services. There was no need to go outside the neighbourhood for company or for service provision, as basic shops and facilities were located within each of the neighbourhoods. This resulted in this type of neighbourhood having the lowest levels of bridging social capital, due to the strength of bonding capital that resulted from the introversion of the neighbourhood. It seemed that in these neighbourhoods the two types of social capital could not easily co-exist. The existence of bonding capital seemed to be at the expense of the possibility of creating bridging capital. Some of this can be explained by the lack of investment experienced in these neighbourhoods and the distrust in external bodies which resulted from the way they had been ‘passed over’.

5. Summary

The amount of bonding capital within a neighbourhood appeared to have significant consequences for the amount of bridging capital which the neighbourhood had. There seemed to be a general rule that the more bonding capital there was, the less bridging capital there was. There were of course exceptions to this rule, where sometimes bonding capital could be of two types, either unifying and outward looking or exclusive and inward looking. There was only one neighbourhood where it was the former, and this was largely due to the newness of the neighbourhood and the fact that the bonding capital had been quite recently and specifically created. It was far more common for the bonding capital present in the other neighbourhoods to resemble the latter. There was also a general pattern between the neighbourhood typology and levels of bonding capital: more investment was associated with less bonding capital and with increased bridging capital. Bonding capital alone was not conducive to collective efficacy, or to Neighbourhood Ownership, needing the support of bridging capital for initiatives to be successful. The one exception to this was the neglected neighbourhood with very high stocks of bonding capital that had its own criminal sub culture maintaining control within the neighbourhood. It is perhaps significant that this example of Neighbourhood Ownership was illegitimate and also not particularly successful. The next section of this chapter will look at bridging capital, and how that affected the residents levels of Neighbourhood Ownership, for example their ability to control disorder and crime.

B. Vertical networks – bridging capital

The literature on community development and regeneration and policy trends since the mid 1980s have advocated the multi-agency partnership approach. First mentioned in an inter-departmental circular 8/1984 (Home Office 1984 – see Crawford 1998:36), later monitored in the Morgan Report 1991 and then codified within the Crime Disorder Act 1998. The multi-agency approach advocates that different agencies within the community work together in the name of community safety, this includes the business and voluntary sector. The multi agency approach as discussed in the Morgan Report existed at three levels; (1) national level; (2) intermediary level; and (3) local level. Within this research bridging capital as a

concept is distinct from this multi-agency approach; less concerned with how the agencies are operating together than the number of networks, and strength of these networks with bodies other than the community.

Bridging capital was understood to include all networks and relationships that reached outside the neighbourhood, including the local landlord, the police, and any services and agencies provided by organisations external to the neighbourhood. The networks with the landlords and the police were of particular interest as every respondent had an opinion on these topics.

Due to the Brae being a SIP (social inclusion partnership) area there had been much investment over the years in services and amenities. The Community council, which had been running for over twenty years at the time of fieldwork, was composed of Community representatives from all twelve micro neighbourhoods, as well as from most of the agencies which work within the area, and of course paid staff members of the Community council itself.

Whilst service provision was comprehensive in the area, it was not without its shortcomings. Despite the presence of a doctors' surgery, a dentist, three different youth projects, a health centre, a drug project, a police station, three primary schools and one secondary, with a swimming pool, three churches, one supermarket and a shopping centre, an eight-screen cinema, a social club and two pubs, plus various other community centres and child care facilities, they were not spatially equitably dispersed. This fact had huge implications for those who used them.

To the outsider it appeared that the area had everything it could need, but on closer investigation this was not the case. Many of the services and agencies were located in what was regarded as the centre of the area, actually known as Brae centre (located within North Brae). The formal division of the area into twelve distinct neighbourhoods had resulted in a territorial attitude, more common in some neighbourhoods than in others, and perhaps most common amongst the young people. The decision, taken in order to manage the different areas and to allow equitable distribution of the SIP budget, was designed to enable communities to

develop and to strengthen what community feeling naturally existed. However instead of people coming from all over, i.e. the various different neighbourhoods, to use the services and agencies, people tended to stay within their neighbourhood, accessing only what services were located therein. Indeed, if the service was within their neighbourhood then usually they would use it, but if they had to travel, even to walk five minutes, it was common for them not to make the journey and to go without the service or amenity.

In this regard, it really did matter what services and agencies were housed within the neighbourhood, not only for important potential influence on the amount of bridging capital but also for the options that were considered available for use. It was not unusual for the services to be designated services for the West of Edinburgh, where Brae was only part of their remit. People would travel from areas outside Brae to access the services, but those who lived within the area, if they did not fall within the same neighbourhood as the service's location, were much more unlikely to use the service.

1. Invested neighbourhoods

One of these neighbourhoods had an abundance of bridging social capital. Due to the recent redevelopment the population within the neighbourhood was quite new. Many of the original residents were decanted during the demolition and redevelopment to other neighbourhoods within the area. Those who were then moved back to the neighbourhood were those who had specifically asked to be transferred to the housing association list and to be re-housed in the neighbourhood, or those who had previously been tenants and were able to return to the area to buy property. It was obvious that the residents that had returned were committed to the area, or at least, liked the neighbourhood enough to go to some trouble to see that they lived there again.

The redevelopment consisted of private investment and housing association investment although there remained a small pocket of council stock. Consequently it was clear that there were a number of key players in the neighbourhood. In many

neighbourhoods it was not uncommon that there would be only one such player; here there were three – the local authority housing, the local housing association and private home-owners. This had implications for the neighbourhood, which automatically had external bodies that were interested in what was happening at the neighbourhood level. In addition to this mix of tenure there was a very active church located within the neighbourhood, as well as a primary school and a community centre. There was also a residential care home for the elderly, as well as some commercial tenancies held by a solicitor and a vet. All these represented a body of actors, other than those who lived in the neighbourhood, who had vested interests in how that neighbourhood was functioning. At first glance it looked like the bridging social capital was high, in other words this neighbourhood had strong vertical connections.

This was tested just prior to the commencement of field work when the neighbourhood experienced serious problems with local young people in the area. There was a spate of disorderly behaviour from a group of young people, mostly concentrated in the local authority flats at one end of the neighbourhood. This involved fire-raising on a nearly daily basis and instances of aggression and incivilities. The fact that there were home owners who were living opposite this block, affected by the daily visits from the fire engines, and affected through fear of the young people, and the positioning of the housing association stock, buttressing this block on all sides, resulted in a push to get the situation resolved. There was a neighbourhood meeting called, with representatives present from all with an interest in the community – including the school, the police, the community police officer, the church, the housing association, the local authority housing representatives, the fire brigade, and of course residents and community workers. As a result of the meeting the disorder seemed to die down. The parents of the perpetrators had attended the meeting and that seemed to have a direct effect on the actions of certain key figures within the group of young people. In addition to the reduction of disorder, a neighbourhood network had been set up within the neighbourhood that extended outside the neighbourhood. This appeared to result in a closer knit neighbourhood, with a range of different people now involved in the local

neighbourhood council, but perhaps even more importantly it formed and strengthened ties with agencies and bodies outwith the neighbourhood itself.

Interestingly, there was one respondent who had lived in this neighbourhood for more than twenty years. She had formerly been involved with the neighbourhood council, reminiscing about the 'Christmas meals' and the 'knees ups' they used to have. After being decanted and relocated within the area she had not taken up again with the neighbourhood council, feeling that it was not as it had been when she was involved, 'not as close-knit'. She recalled the neighbourhood council which she belonged to,

It met loads. It was good for socialising, we used to have a good time at Christmas. We used to get a couple of bottles in and then we'd get some food and then we'd have like a social night. And it was good, it was good for that. I have nay heard if it still goes on, so maybe it does nay. But then it was for the people who run it so maybe they have just not said. Maybe they are just not community minded.

To an extent she was right, where formerly the neighbourhood council's primary role seemed to have been as a social outlet, now it was more goal specific, responding to problems as and when they occurred. It still fulfilled a social function, running a very successful fun day which occurred during fieldwork and at which over 1000 people attended. However she had noticed that it felt different. The difference may be explained by the concentration of bridging social capital as opposed to bonding social capital.

The neighbourhood council which this respondent knew and loved had been composed of 'die-hards', she herself had been on it for seven years before coming off it due in part to illness and then to relocation. For her, its function was primarily social, it kept her up to date with what was going on in the neighbourhood. The fact that the neighbourhood, as it was now, after the redevelopment, was significantly different impacted upon the shape of the neighbourhood group. Where before the neighbourhood was long established, with residents often having lived there since it was first built, in the 1970s, now the residents were a diverse group, many new to the area and without the bonds that grow when one has been in an area for a substantial period of time. Accordingly this neighbourhood was low on bonding social capital. It

appeared that this contributed positively to their ability to act together to achieve a shared goal, i.e. the fact that they were low on bonding social capital but high on bridging capital enabled them to act collectively providing evidence of Neighbourhood Ownership. The existence of more bridging capital than bonding capital enabled or at least contributed to the high levels of Neighbourhood Ownership which they demonstrated in response to the problem of youth disorder. It seemed that bonding social capital could inhibit bridging social capital from forming. This neighbourhood was a remarkable example as it was a new neighbourhood, or at least an old neighbourhood redeveloped with many new residents having to build from scratch. This goes against the idea that the older neighbourhoods which are more settled and less transient are the ideal places, in terms of community spirit and collective action, with expected high levels of Neighbourhood Ownership. This may well not be the case.

The second neighbourhood was less recently redeveloped with a population drawn from all over the area. It also had owner occupiers, although interestingly they were positioned quite differently than in the other neighbourhood where the home owners lined one side of the street, in an almost confrontational manner, facing the housing association and some local authority tenants on the other side. While these owners experienced some jealousy and some minor vandalism and abuse from local kids, it was resolved in an impressive community effort. However it did raise interesting issues of where the owned property should be located. In the other neighbourhood, in terms of tenure, the owners were all located at one end, almost ghetto-ised, reducing involvement in the community and reducing interaction with other types of people who lived in the same neighbourhood. It appeared that this 'ghetto-isation' contributed to the attitude or sense of the tenant as the 'other'. One homeowner, described the other part of the neighbourhood as different,

it's a wee bit different; there are more housing association houses down there, so they don't own their own places. There are some big houses down there and a lot of kids as that area has a lot of families. [...] All the houses [here] are owned but I think there may be a couple that are rented out. I think it makes a difference to how people look after their houses, even if you just go a bit further around, to the houses that are owned by the Housing Association, that are rented, you can see a difference in the area, just by walking five minutes down the road.

In this neighbourhood the bonding capital was high in some areas. The design of the area was such that rather than facing each other on one street, the area was full of little enclaves, some of which could not be accessed by car. This increased the sense of privacy, but to the point where often pockets of housing felt isolated, even though they were really very close to nearby property.

Both neighbourhoods had experienced terrible problems with the local young people, they even had an official gang with an insignia, which could be seen graffitied all over the neighbourhood. There had been several attempts to address this problem but none had had great success at the time of fieldwork. Despite the continued lack of success the neighbourhood council was strong and was still coming up with creative ideas. When I spoke with their community development worker, the residents themselves had been devising a plan to contract a youth worker to work on the streets with the children.

The two different neighbourhoods handled similar problems quite differently and it appeared that the latter was a little hamstrung by their higher stocks of bonding capital. They were a fairly established neighbourhood, where the activists had been active for considerable periods of time, and there was not the same energy or diversity as in the newer neighbourhood. Furthermore the neighbourhood council had failed to get everyone on board, partly because of the layout of the area. The owner occupiers who could have been a driving force were content to be omitted from the process. They were located on the edge of the neighbourhood, not affected as much as the rest of the area by the disorder, and were not as interested in contributing at a collective level. One owner occupier who had not been involved in any neighbourhood activity explained 'we've never really had any need to; do you know what I mean?'. The agencies that were present in the neighbourhood and could have also contributed some support were located on the periphery of the neighbourhood, contributing to the lack of a cohesive neighbourhood identity on a wider scale and emphasising the smaller groups where people had to help each other to cope with the daily problems of the kids. It seemed that bonding capital had evolved to meet the needs of some of the residents who were dealing with disorder on a daily basis. There is no doubt that the neighbourhood networks in some areas were very strong,

but they did not reach beyond those small areas, preventing them from accessing help outwith themselves.

2. Invested and maintained neighbourhoods

There were a couple of neighbourhoods that fell within this category. Both of them were primarily, if not entirely Housing association stock. The fact that they were well maintained seemed largely attributable to the housing association itself.

The condition of the housing association neighbourhoods was considerably better than that of the neighbourhoods comprised of council stock. The properties were newer, brighter, better designed and better maintained. This created resentment on the part of some of the local authority tenants who could not help but begrudge the quality of treatment that these other tenants received. Some of the local authority stock still had problems with damp and there were several buildings where the harling was falling off in part. These were much more basic needs and they were not being met, while those across the road often seemed to have it all. The community development workers recognised that this created obvious comparisons and often resulted in resentment. One commented that,

even if the council housing and the housing association might be next to each other, you can see [the difference], not just the housing itself, but the environment as well. That's from the grass being cut and the fences being painted and maintained. Yes, there is a difference. (Partnership worker)

Much better than the local authority at repairs, the housing association issued a card with emergency phone numbers and seemed to be reliable in their rapidity of response. Many of their tenants in the association stock had had experience at one time of council housing and it constantly came out worse, when compared to their present situation.

In addition to attending housing needs the housing association was involved in the local Community council, one of the few agencies that frequently sent along representation. They also appeared to be helpful with regard to specific problems faced by specific tenants. One lone mother in full time education received a grant

from them to help financially. Two minority ethnic families who were living in housing association stock had received prioritisation due to the racial tension they were facing and they were dealt with sensitively. Another respondent who had terrible problems with a neighbour spoke very positively about the association's involvement in the situation and the support offered by her individual housing officer. A single mother who was completing a part time degree, new to the area, had initially been a bit wary about the housing association,

But I would say in general it's been much better than I thought, and as far as the housing association, there's been no problem. [...] They actually helped last year when we were stuck, things to do with my Bursary and payments from the hardship fund and stuff were done through them, like helping with things like housing benefit and qualifying.

According to the community development workers, there were reasons for the differential service provided by the two landlords. The housing association had a relatively new stock, much of it brand new, and it formed, in total, a much smaller stock, 450 units compared to over a 1000 units. They had add in charges for maintenance and the local authority did not, so maintenance did not get done to the same extent, for monetary reasons. The housing association also had a clear and continually refined management strategy, specific to the area, and the additional advantage of starting with a clean sheet.

The above indicates that at a fundamental level it was significant what type of housing made up a neighbourhood. The housing association managed their property better than the local authority. There were understandable reasons for why this was the case, the size and the age of the stock being key here. However in addition to managing the property the housing association managed their tenants well also. This was discovered when I looked at how people felt about the housing policy that was in operation.

There was a shared opinion that the housing association were more stringent in who they gave their tenancies to, '[they] have obviously hand-picked the people they want to live in the scheme'. While the local authority could not pick and choose their tenants, to a certain extent it seemed like the housing association could, although as

one tenant observed occasionally undesirable people ‘managed to get through’. Both groups operated on a point allocation system, the more points, the more priority was given to the case. One council tenant who had tried to get on the association list, but even with a sick child had not qualified, felt ‘it’s really strict’. Another tenant commented,

The housing association, they vet the tenants before they get to move in, so if you apply for a house with the council you could be put next to anyone. But the housing association has been quite good, they know most of the idiots and the junkies and that, and they don’t let them in. So I know that most of the bad ones in Brae stay in council houses. Which you can nay get away from either, there are always going to be those sort of people around.

Although there was a feeling that the housing association stock was more difficult to get, those who were tenants felt that the process had been quicker and easier than that of the local authority. There were applications and interviews but the waiting list was not as long as the local authority’s list and there were none of the added complications produced through the ‘Right to Buy’ option. While one resident commented, ‘I think with it being a newer scheme, [the housing association] have obviously picked the people they want to live in the scheme’. Although her description of how she came to be a housing association tenant did not really support this theory,

Well, because of my age, I was wanting to move out of my parents house anyway, and I applied to the district council and I’ve been on their waiting list for about a year and a half, and I hadn’t had any offers. And I wasn’t actually registered with [the housing association]. I just got a letter out of the blue. It was funny the way it happened actually, because I do, I work with [the housing association], you know, I work within the council – with the housing benefit. And we deal with [the housing association], you know, clients. And my Dad had said to me one day that [the housing association] had phoned the house and I thought that I had given them the house number instead of the work number by mistake. And I said, ‘Oh’ and he said they were going to write to you. And I thought, well they’ll write to work. And a couple of days later a letter came through to the house and it said, every now and then the council have to nominate so many of the people on their list. “You’ve been nominated, there’s a one-bedroom flat in [...] area, If you would like to apply, fill out an application form.” So I filled in the application form and I got offered the house.

There was also an awareness that the process through which the housing association could evict anti social tenants was quicker and used more often. This was not actually the case, although they only offered assured tenancies rather than secured

tenancies and so were not contractually as obligated as the council. According to the manager of the housing association, they were bound by the same procedures as the local authority were, both had to go through the Antisocial Behaviour Order process (ASBO), which may even be longer for the association as they needed the support of the council. They had not needed to issue any ASBOs at the time of fieldwork. What did seem different was the process they used before getting to the point where eviction became a real possibility. They tended to be much quicker to use mediation services to work through neighbour disputes. This had been successful and combined with housing officers who were supportive of the tenants in their designated areas, had created a feeling that the housing association was in control of their neighbourhoods. Their involvement in the neighbourhood at the neighbourhood council level and their commitment to inter-agency work with the police and other agencies within the area meant that they were a very real and tangible presence, not least through the location of their visually impacting offices on the edge of one of the neighbourhoods.

3. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

The neighbourhoods that fell within this group often seemed to be predominantly local authority owned stock, although there was a degree of owner-occupier dwellings within the neighbourhoods, where tenants had taken advantage of the 'Right to Buy' option. There was a feeling that the local authority were not willing to hold up their end of the bargain, and this manifested itself through maintenance jobs that were not done, and vandalism and graffiti that was not cleaned up. The respondents who were owner occupiers often voiced annoyance at the expectation that they would need to contribute financially to maintenance, and there was a resentment towards the local authority. One such owner found that they often ended up doing repairs themselves,

The council are a bit, well, behind in their responsibilities. My partner is actually on the neighbourhood council. We got that sick of complaining and complaining that we thought that's it, we'll go and do something about it ourselves. Ended up that we do all sorts of things for the neighbourhood...

Generally there was little integration between the owners and the tenants, and the links between the owners and the council were often antagonistic. One owner

occupier described the on-going battle with the council to get them to come and deal with maintenance issues,

The council don't bother, I mean, we called them out three weeks earlier about a broken window and that's how long it took them. There's nothing even to do... I mean when the rubbish shoot is blocked... I don't know if it is the lady down stairs, I mean she must be the one kicking the bucket shoot door in, or her husband. So I phoned the council and told them the window had been smashed, the doors kicked in, and there are pigeons in. And they said they'd get someone out. Now I had to ring twice. Now they did come out and when they did I don't know if they fixed the window but they put a lock on the door and shut the door when the pigeon was still inside. And I could smell it, I think it had died. I mean when you're pregnant I think you get a better sense of smell, 'cos no one else could smell it. But every time I passed it, I could smell it. So I phoned them up again and I said look, I think they've nested and had babies and I think they might have died. So they eventually came out and they said that it was awful. [...] That's what gets me about this stair, no one ever seems to phone up about anything, they are quite happy to leave it, or we end up doing it. And its not because they know us, I think they just don't care. And its not because we've bought this place that we ring up, I think we would do it anyway.

The culmination of these fragmented relations resulted in low levels of bridging capital, i.e. between the local authority and the residents, both owner and tenant, and also low levels of bonding capital, as there was a general wariness between owners and tenants, both seeing the other as 'the other'.

4. Neglected neighbourhoods

There were two neighbourhoods that had been totally omitted from the regeneration and redevelopment process. At the beginning of the partnership one of these neighbourhoods had elected to go last in the redevelopment process, having been regarded as the best neighbourhood at the time. Since then the neighbourhood had slid into disrepair. It had the largest percentage of owner occupied properties, thought to be as high as 70%. This had not rescued it from the slow decline which it had experienced over the last 10-15 years.

It was not accidental that this area was on the edge of Brae. It straddled two housing schemes, and it was common for residents to align and identify themselves with the other area rather than Brae, although it fell within the Brae partnership and provided three of the official twelve neighbourhoods therein. Despite this the strength of the ties which the neighbourhoods seemed to experience with Brae were weak. This had

implications for the 'reach' of the neighbourhoods in this area. Because they did not naturally identify with Brae, they did not readily identify or use the infrastructure, which had been set up to aid the regeneration of the whole area. This infrastructure, the Brae Community Council, had achieved a reputation nationally as perhaps one of the most sophisticated community structures. The neighbourhoods within this area, whilst officially a part of it felt excluded from this, partly through self-election and partly through geography.

Their bridging capital was very weak. Although theoretically the structure was in place for them to use, the fact that the agencies and the hub of the area were all located some distance away resulted in residents feeling disenfranchised from those services. Even though there were links, they were not being maximised, and like money, if this sort of capital is not used it will lose its value.

5. Summary

The stocks of social capital found within a neighbourhood were found to be crucial in shaping residents' ability to work together in solving problems. Stocks of bridging capital were inhibited by the strength of bonding capital within a neighbourhood, which tended to create a pervasive attitude of territoriality and distrust. The levels of bridging capital were obviously connected to which typology the neighbourhood fell within. Where the neighbourhood had access to resources, networks were automatically created and maintained, where they did not, bonding capital increased.

Conclusion

This analysis suggests that a move away from the unqualified good of 'networks' in community cohesion discourse may be warranted. The distinction between the horizontal and the vertical, or bonding capital and bridging capital, has been explored. The distinction between bridging and bonding capital is clear, where one reaches outside the neighbourhood, the other remains within. Research on communities and crime which has used social capital theory has not as yet engaged fully with this distinction and the implications which it has for policy. While critics of social capital theory are quick to point out the limitations of the theory, and even

the theorists themselves acknowledge there to be a 'dark side', there has as yet been inadequate attention paid as to what this might mean in a more pragmatic context, i.e. in policy driven research.

By embracing the two definitions of social capital and exploring their differential stocks within the neighbourhood we can learn something further about the equation advocated by Sampson, i.e. presence of social capital equals the facilitation of collective efficacy. Asserting a distinction between the types of social capital found within a neighbourhood makes a real difference to the equation. What became clear was that any type of social capital would not necessarily facilitate collective efficacy or Neighbourhood Ownership. Indeed some types of social capital may constrain the production of Neighbourhood Ownership.

Bonding capital, understood as those close friendships and networks that are said to exist within the ideal neighbourhoods, or at least the type of neighbourhood that the government is advocating within its current paradigm of 'community cohesion', was found to be a qualified good. Indeed within the case study, the neighbourhoods that were found to have the highest levels of bonding capital were those that also had the lowest level of bridging capital. This implies that there may be some sort of causational relationship at work here. There are two possible explanations for this anomaly.

The first is that high stocks of bonding capital act as an inhibitor to the creation and maintenance of bridging capital. When the internal networks in a neighbourhood are strong, they may produce a feeling of self sufficiency that is exclusive of those external or outside it. This prohibiting of networks outwith the neighbourhood results in a lack of 'reach', and the neighbourhood finds it difficult to influence external bodies and agencies and to access resources. The result is that they receive little investment, or investment once received falls into disrepair as the neighbourhood does not have the means by which to appeal to responsible bodies for maintenance and upkeep. If there are no real networks to build upon, they cannot increase, just as there can be no interest on a bank account that is empty.

The alternative explanation operates in the opposite direction. It presupposes that the neighbourhood's external networks are few, in other words, their stock of bridging capital is low. This means that the neighbourhood has no real avenue outside of itself on which they can appeal for help or investment. They must become self sufficient as they have been let down by those outside, for example the local authority or the police. The subsequent lack of Neighbourhood Ownership is caused by the difficulty in a neighbourhood that has both physical and financial needs in satisfying those needs themselves. This may result in an increasing bitterness and distrust of those agencies which the neighbourhood feels have let them down, this is reinforced by the visible signs of under-investment and neglect within the neighbourhood.

By looking at the social capital within a neighbourhood, and by appreciating whether it is bonding or bridging, we are able to explore the co-existence and the consequences of one for the other. This is something that Granovetter's weak ties does not allow. Hope's analysis of vertical and horizontal dimensions suggests that the vertical dimension is the dominant one. The present findings confirm that this is the case, but also show that the horizontal dimension may substantially influence whether and how the vertical links are used to draw down resources.

The neighbourhoods which had the highest levels of collective efficacy were the neighbourhoods which had a surplus of bridging capital and minimal amounts of bonding capital. Those neighbourhoods that were unable to attract investment tended to have far greater amounts of bonding than bridging capital.

The neighbourhood typology here is at one and the same time an indicator of the political position of the neighbourhood and also an indicator of levels of Neighbourhood Ownership. The neighbourhoods that had received investment and had been able to maintain that investment were the neighbourhoods that had access to resources and strong external networks, these two things went hand in hand. Furthermore it is possible that the very political positioning was the result of high levels of Neighbourhood Ownership, with people at the level of the neighbourhood working together to achieve such a position. However it seemed probable that the

Neighbourhood Ownership came afterward, with the political positioning of the neighbourhood being decided by forces other than the residents of the neighbourhood themselves.

In terms of how the levels of Neighbourhood Networks actually impact on the level of crime and disorder in the neighbourhoods it appears that they are important through their contribution to Neighbourhood Ownership. Neighbourhood networks act as a plausible mechanism (Rutter 1995), existing before Neighbourhood Ownership in the chain of causation which determines the levels of crime and disorder within the neighbourhood.

Returning to the meta neighbourhoods, it is clear that there is a discernible relationship between Neighbourhood Networks and Neighbourhood Ownership, which in turn has a causal relationship with crime and disorder. Furthermore it is likely that the relationship between Neighbourhood Networks and Neighbourhood Ownership, once in existence, is to some extent bi-directional.

The meta level neighbourhood, North Brae, with the highest rates of crime, due to lower levels of Neighbourhood Ownership (as discussed in the following chapter), seemed to have quite extensive Neighbourhood Networks. However, the relationship between Neighbourhood Networks and Neighbourhood Ownership depends on the type of networks. This neighbourhood had more horizontal networks (bonding capital), than vertical networks (bridging capital), which does not contribute as much to Neighbourhood Ownership. Neighbourhood Ownership was the lowest in this neighbourhood out of all three neighbourhoods at the meta level. This lack of Neighbourhood Ownership was manifested in part in the higher rates of crime and disorder.

The neighbourhood located on the edge of the area also had very low levels of vertical networks. This was partly a result of its peripheral location and therefore distance from many services and amenities, thereby preventing people from building these vertical networks. Additionally and crucially this neighbourhood had received

no, or very little, investment and therefore had not had an opportunity to build these networks. These factors, combined with a high percentage of owner occupiers coupled with long periods of residency, produced very high levels of bonding capital. These stocks of bonding capital, rather than simply serving to inhibit the creation of bridging capital as in the North, here had quite a different result. The strength of the horizontal networks resulted in a rejection of organisations and agencies external to the neighbourhood. This rejection included the police, producing an attempt at self policing, undertaken by the local criminal sub culture. In this neighbourhood, high stocks of Neighbourhood Networks, of the horizontal kind, resulted in plenty of Neighbourhood Ownership, albeit of an illegitimate nature.

The third neighbourhood had the lowest crime rates and the highest stocks of vertical networks. These networks had been created through much investment and development in the area, in which local people had been involved. The local landlord managed their stock responsibly, cementing the vertical networks that existed between tenant and landlord. Furthermore they were responsible for creating a tenure mix that allowed home owners to live beside tenants which produced horizontal networks. Unlike the North neighbourhood here the horizontal networks were not tenure specific, so rather than having several groups with tight horizontal networks, there was only one. At the time of fieldwork, some of the neighbourhood was still quite new and the bonding capital seemed to be rather instrumental in nature, often created for a purpose. As yet these levels of bonding capital had not inhibited the development of bridging capital. Indeed, it seemed that this neighbourhood had the correct balance of each to maximise Neighbourhood Ownership.

While it has been seen in this chapter that Neighbourhood Investment is important, as chapter 5 demonstrated that Neighbourhood Organisation was also important, they are both most important in how they contribute to the levels of Neighbourhood Ownership. Neighbourhood Ownership, composed of trust, informal social control (although also found in Neighbourhood Networks, the Varimax PCA suggested that it loaded more strongly onto Neighbourhood Ownership), and neighbourhood satisfaction, appeared to be the last mediating process before crime and disorder. The

next chapter looks at Neighbourhood Ownership, breaking it down into its constituent processes.

CHAPTER 7: NEIGHBOURHOOD OWNERSHIP

Introduction

Regression modelling carried out on the neighbourhood survey data suggested that the most powerful of the Neighbourhood Components for predicting crime and disorder was Neighbourhood Ownership. The Principal Component Analysis uncovered three components onto which the various neighbourhood measures loaded. The neighbourhood measures of trust and social control and neighbourhood satisfaction were found to have a underlying component in common, this was named Neighbourhood Ownership. It was hypothesised that Neighbourhood Ownership was the Neighbourhood Component directly before crime and disorder in the causal pathway.

The use of in-depth interviews with a range of sample groups enabled these measures to be explored in more detail. Trust was explored, with particular attention to trust in the landlord and in the police, and barriers to trusting them. Neighbourhood satisfaction was understood to include a number of the social capital indicators, namely; belonging and identity, the extent of territoriality and the effects of labelling; feelings of safety; collective norms and shared values. Finally, instances of informal social control were examined. It is suggested that Neighbourhood Ownership is last in the chain of causation as it includes those variables that directly shape the rates of crime and disorder within a neighbourhood, i.e. informal social control.

The neighbourhood typology was applied in the discussion of the findings, in the hope that it reduces some of the complexity.

A. Trust

When trust is discussed in a theoretical context it often centres on how individuals perceive and relate to those around them. The case study allowed this to be explored, but also enabled the trust between individuals and agencies and other bodies to be examined. Much of the horizontal trust is discussed in the chapter on Neighbourhood

Networks, as there is much overlap between trust and relationship. This chapter looks at trust in structural relationships, or in other words, trust in a vertical direction, extending outwith the neighbourhood, and will centre on landlords and the police.

1. Trust in landlords

Landlords may affect the levels of crime and disorder within a neighbourhood for two reasons. Firstly it is the landlord who is responsible for the tenant mix, for who actually lives within that neighbourhood. If there are a number of criminals within the population, then this may increase the levels of crime and disorder within the neighbourhood. Secondly the landlord has a responsibility for dealing with instances of disorderly behaviour, whether that means keeping on top of the graffiti or maintaining property and handling groups of problematic young people.

It can be no coincidence that the neglected neighbourhoods tended to experience less optimism about the neighbourhood and that those involved in community activities numbered less than in the other neighbourhoods which were perceived to be thriving. How people felt about where they lived was intricately tied up with the dwelling they lived in, the quality, the design, the maintenance and the landlord responsible for these. These neighbourhoods were not well maintained, and though there was a percentage of home owners, the blame was usually laid firmly at the door of the landlord, the council in this case.

Not only was the council stock older and less well maintained, there was a feeling of discontent regarding the general maintenance of neighbourhoods where the council owned a majority of the stock. Many respondents pointed to failures to pick up litter and to keep on top of graffiti, as well as letting communal gardens become overgrown and ugly. One resident in the high flats said,

I don't know if they really care about this area either to be honest with you. I think there's a lot more they can do. The state of the lifts, the cleanliness of the place. Maybe that's down to the residents as well, its not really down to them, but, I think they just make a half arse attempt in keeping neat and tidy. It's not clean. It's not even safe. And the area is ruined, for instance, we've got trees down there, and they're ruined. The paving slabs, they've all been ripped up by the bairns or whoever and you know it's a wee bit of a worry... and you're like "do something about it". Fix it all or whatever.

It was often believed that you were better to do the small jobs of maintenance and repair yourself. Otherwise it could take an indefinite length of time for the local authority to get around to the job. In order to get them to come and attend to a job it meant writing letters and making phone calls repeatedly until they did. One of the respondents lived in a stair that had a reputation for being clean and well kept. He was proud of this and did some of it himself. The same stair was referred to by other residents in the area as receiving preferential and unfair attention from the local authority because one of the flats was leased by a dentist for a local surgery and, therefore, was in their interests to keep it well maintained. It was a cause of tension and resentment levelled against the local authority, when in reality it was largely down to a conscientious resident rather than the self-serving tactics on the part of the local authority. Such misconceptions had significant consequences often resulted in damaging the tenant/ landlord relations.

Rather than the local authority and the tenants working together, often it seemed like the tenants regarded the local authority as the enemy, or at least that they were constantly letting their tenants down. This was exaggerated by the often nearby presence of the housing association stock which seemed to be run so much better. There was also the feeling that the housing association was able to take all the best tenants rejecting those who the local authority could not, meaning that they could end up as your neighbour.

2. Trust in the police

Part of the fieldwork concentrated on the police and how people interacted with them and felt about them i.e. whether they used them and how well they felt they did their job. There was a mixed response regarding people's perceptions of the police, ranging from those who were delighted with them to those who considered them untrustworthy. The area was policed differently, depending on which neighbourhood, which police officers were working within it, and the problems specific to that neighbourhood. Respondents were aware of the police doing their jobs to differing degrees, depending in part on where they lived. If one lived in certain neighbourhoods, it was not uncommon to witness drug raids in the early hours of the

morning. This contrasted with the experience of living elsewhere where it was likely that the community police officer would be a friendly face and 'someone to have a blether with'.

Within the area, responses differed from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. In the more recently developed neighbourhoods, the 'invested neighbourhoods' (which were mostly in the south, although one was in the north) there was a general consensus that they may not be around much, as they were maybe not needed as much there as elsewhere. There was a general tendency in these areas to comment that you did not see the police much, and then to conclude there was probably not as much for them to do in that neighbourhood as some of the other ones. One resident within one of the invested neighbourhoods, new to the whole area, felt that the police were 'much more on the ball' than where she had lived previously.

The layout of one of these neighbourhoods was such that the houses were all on the main road which ran through the neighbourhood, or within sight of that road. Therefore when a police car did go by it was clearly observable. In addition, this neighbourhood was known for having an attentive and committed community police officer who was often seen during fieldwork, walking and talking with the local children. Furthermore this area had had serious problems with the local children and teenagers behaving in a disorderly and disruptive manner. There had been a neighbourhood meeting, attended by the relevant police officers, where it had been suggested that the police presence should be increased. This involvement of the police and the presence of a community policeman resulted in respondents not only being aware of the police but also trusting them.

In the other neighbourhoods that were considered to be 'neglected', whether that meant they had experienced investment at one time, or not at all, there was a general consensus that the police were not around enough. Again the design of these neighbourhoods (they were made up of small blocks of flats and terraced housing situated in cul-de-sacs) and the lack of natural surveillance most likely contributed to this feeling in two ways. Firstly, if there were police cars driving around, people may not have been aware of them as the design of the neighbourhood was such that they

would only be able to cover part of the neighbourhood and that may not be naturally observable, and secondly, connected to this, the fact that they were in cars at all meant that they would only ever be able to cover a part of the neighbourhood.

In the other neighbourhoods, which fell midway on the investment-neglect continuum, there was little consensus on the presence of the police. Within the same part of one neighbourhood one respondent saw them 'around quite a bit', while a neighbour commented,

I think I've seen them about twice since I moved in here about two years ago.
I think I have seen them twice in their car doing a wee circle of here. That's all. I never saw them on foot.

This variation in opinion may suggest that the presence of the police was itself variable.

3. Inhibitors to trusting the police

The individuals perception of the police and their presence or activity within ones neighbourhood was closely bound up with notions of trust. At times negative views of the police seemed to act as an inhibitor to bridging social capital. The neighbourhoods where the police were a part of the community utilised those links in useful ways, i.e. in the newly invested neighbourhood. Those neighbourhoods that practically rejected the police increased their levels of bonding capital, as they were relying on internal social controls to police the area informally, i.e. the peripheral neglected neighbourhoods. There were a number of factors which were found to be relevant to explaining differing levels of confidence in the police

3.1. Policing of young people

Opinion was shared concerning the ability of the police to handle the problem of children and teenagers within the area. There was a sense that not only were they slow to respond if the complaint was regarding children, but also that they often seemed to handle the situation poorly. These children seemed so out of control that the effect of 'the police' had been nullified, for example, 'they dinnae bother about the police. That's it. They've not even got fear of the law'. At the other end of the

area a respondent noted, 'the police take a lot of stick [from the kids]. See they can't seem to touch them'.

The professional workers within the area observed that although kids and teenagers tended to feel negatively about the police, there were still exceptions as to how they should do their job. The areas that had good community police officers tended to possess a more trusting attitude of the police. There the young people got to know their officer as they saw them walking the beat and being friendly, someone who knew their football team, and knew their name. Unfortunately when calls were put through to the station often the first officers on the scene were not these individuals and the carefully established relationship could be destroyed in an instant through insensitivity to the situation from officers that were unfamiliar with the kids and with the area.

Many residents were keen to see the police develop relationships with the local children. There was a strong desire to see the children get to know them and to understand that they were not the enemy. If this was the case it would perhaps mean that their increased presence would be more of a deterrent to the young people. It was said time and again that the kids no longer seemed to have any respect for the police and thus the police had very little effect on them by way of a disciplinarian function. It was often suggested that if relationships could be built then maybe that respect would be earned and the result would be decreased anti-social behaviour. If police presence were increased there was a feeling that,

maybe [that] would make less vandalism. I think it would help us feel safer. If they were able to get to know us and get to know where we lived and if we then were in trouble or needed them, or had problems with the kids, they would be there to deal with it. When I was young the police would make us stop and think and we were scared of them.

Due to the curtailment of the police to 'really' tackle the kids 'these days' there was a feeling that the only hope was for police to get along side them. Some residents suggested that it might help if the police could go into the schools, the earlier the better, and then from an early age the children would know who they were and what they did. This was also suggested by a community worker who felt that primary

school age would be an appropriate time for the children to begin interacting with the police.

3.2. Community policing

There was a general disappointment with the resources put into ‘bobbies on the beat’. The police that were most often seen were in a patrol car, and only on foot if they were going to see someone or were looking for someone. In the older areas (which ironically were the neighbourhoods that were the worst designed for the purpose of allowing cars to drive through, making walking the best option for police officers), one respondent said,

You never see a policeman walking up here and around the scheme. Even in the late afternoon or night. I mean, they’re always in cars, you know that’s not any good. Its bad that they sit in their cars all day.

The car simply was not a sensible option for policing some of the neighbourhoods which did not even have a real road that went through them but were rather made up of squares and pathways. As the young people saw the car coming it was easy for them to make a run for it.

It was interesting that nearly everyone interviewed indicated a desire to see police around the area, and their neighbourhood, more frequently. This suggests, in agreement with Atkinson (2003), that people do not wish to have to handle local disorders themselves, but rather feel that that is the role of the police. Atkinson argues that this demonstrates that policy strategies of enabling local governance where informal social controls are reinforced and relied upon are based on a fallacy of what it is that people want. Certainly the overwhelming majority of respondents within this case study felt that it remained the role of the police to patrol and police the area, both in terms of crime and in terms of disorders. It was not the responsibility of the individual resident and whilst some indicated that they exercised a degree of informal social control within their neighbourhood, it may not have been necessary had the police been performing their duty adequately.

3.3 Response rate

There was a police station located within the housing scheme in the North. This made many feel safer, knowing that it was there. The downside, resulting from a slow police response rate, was a real sense of resentment at being let down.

Residents found it hard to understand why the police could not come when they were called, few understanding the resource constraints and pressures which the police in that area were facing. The residents that tended to be involved in community activism tended to be the best informed about the constraints operating on the police in the area and their practice in certain situations. This came from the police's involvement and representation at the neighbourhood level within the councils. One such resident while complaining that, 'you don't see them about much' was able to answer her own complaint with 'but then apparently there are only two cars between a huge area'. One community development worker, also a resident, commented

I don't think they have the same manpower on the streets anymore. And that has a huge impact. I think there's a lot more paper work for them which takes them kind of off the street and so people don't see them. So they don't have a presence locally.

3.4. A preference for self-policing?

It was not uncommon to find whole families where the attitudes to the police were negative and distrusting. Some children were being raised with the police officer as the bogeyman figure. This was worst in the neighbourhoods with a concentration of vulnerable residents, usually the neglected neighbourhoods. During the fieldwork this could be seen in how a neglected neighbourhood approached the problem of an encroaching sectarian gang from Belfast who were trying to take over the drug scene in the neighbourhood, their methods were regarded as brutal and they were unwanted. There was a move within the neighbourhood for the police to let the 'Scottish lads' deal with this one themselves, if they would just turn a blind eye to the situation. This was suggested but was not allowed by the police. There was some resentment that the police would not allow this, but the fact that they had communicated this, seemed to form a bond in some way between the police and this Scottish group. When a number of 'the Irish lot' were arrested and imprisoned after an early raid, there was nothing but praise for the police and the job they had done,

although there lingered a feeling among some that they could have handled it themselves.

In spite of this distrust, people would still use the police if they really needed them. One community development worker asserted,

I think there's a lot of distrust. But it's hard to say its distrust. I think there's a lot of people think that they're a waste of space, rather than that they don't trust them. If they needed them they would use them and I think there's a difference between those two and they probably get mixed up in people's minds.

This confirms that although there may be misgivings about the police, these are often shaped by the perception of how well they are doing their job. It reflects their job performance rather than being indicative of a lack of trust. People still want the police to be there to do their job and any concerns expressed were generally indicative of a desire for increased presence and involvement, not less.

3.5. The 'last resort'

When it came to dealing with the police or using the police people were quite reserved. There was an understanding that really the police should only be called if it was a last resort and you could no longer handle the situation yourself. Again there was a feeling of 'they have enough to do around here' without contributing any extra. They were generally considered to be a last resort, with people often citing the council as someone they would go to before they would go to the police,

I think that it would be the last resort to go to the police. It would have to be really serious. I know there's a lot of people go to the police for petty things around here, but I wouldn't do it. It would have to be something really serious. I mean if somebody had hit my window with a ball or that. I wouldn't phone the police, you know, I just feel like I could ask them myself 'could you please take the ball somewhere else' and try and sort it out myself before I would go to them. That would be the last thing I would do, is go to the police.

This suggests that while there may not have been a climate of general distrust and suspicion of the police, there was certainly hesitation, if not reluctance, to deal with them on a day to day basis, as and when problems arose.

Unless there was evidence or witnesses there was still a feeling that the police would not be able to help with the situation. This was worsened by the fear of intimidation by key significant families in the area against reporting specific incidences. Calling the police was perceived as a big step, and may not be worth it unless one had absolute faith in what they would do.

3.6 Minority ethnic groups

There were some specific dilemmas for the minority ethnic families in how they viewed the role of the police. There were two families who had both experienced quite serious racial harassment. One family, who had experienced serious ongoing harassment, was able to secure a new tenancy in a different area, having not contacted the police until absolutely necessary, feeling that it would only increase the stakes and encourage retaliation. The other family were reluctant to report the activities of local children to the police, as this was something that was alien to their culture,

in our culture it is very rude to go to the police for your neighbour. His son is like your son, no problem. If he does something wrong, you do not go to the police. We ask why and then he understands that he has done something wrong. It would be a big problem for both of you if you went to the police.

In these cases the role of the police was understood as being reserved for matters that cannot be handled amongst the immediate community. Even where such a community cannot be found to exist it still felt inappropriate for these residents to go to the police.

The impact of these differential experiences and perceptions of the police supports the idea that the neighbourhood you lived in, affected how you viewed and interacted with the police. Obviously there were factors operating at the individual level as well, but locale was very important.

Where relations with the police were good they were a valuable resource, not only in terms of crime control and prevention, but also in relation to how people feared and felt about crime and safety in their neighbourhood. They offered a connection outwith the neighbourhood, and where the ties were strong, the understanding was

increased and the trust seemed to multiply. Those respondents who were also involved in community activism were often those best informed and most familiar with police practice. It seemed that the interaction with the police representatives through the neighbourhood councils had done much to demystify their role in the community, and to establish open and trusting relationships with the local police. They were often more realistic as to what the police were able to do as well, being aware of resourcing problems. This was an integral component of the stocks of existing bridging social capital, incredibly important due to the reach of influence they could have over the young people and the general desirability of the neighbourhood to those living within and without it.

4. Summary

The degree of trust between residents and agencies and organisation working within the neighbourhood but external to it, determined, in part, the amount of bridging capital within a neighbourhood. The relationship between landlord, tenant and resident has repeatedly been shown to be important throughout the analysis, in each of the Neighbourhood Components. Here, it was the under-invested neighbourhoods who typically felt let down by the police or the land lord, and these were the neighbourhoods that were lowest on bridging capital and with the highest crime and disorder rates. This would seem to be evidence for the necessity of investment, in other words, neighbourhoods can not be improved or encouraged to be efficacious without a tangible financial investment. It may be that the creation and sustaining of social capital, or at least the right sort of social capital, must begin with financial capital, whether into the housing market or increased services or into community police officers.

B. Belonging and identity

Within the typologies in chapter 3, belonging and identity were considered important in the creation of social capital and collective efficacy. The premise is that where feelings of belonging and identity are strong, residents will be more likely to become involved and to really identify the local neighbourhood as their own, increasing their

stake in the neighbourhood. There was no doubt that neighbourhood mattered to the respondents, but this sentiment did not always have positive by-products.

1. Territorialism

The division of the area into twelve micro neighbourhoods was at times useful and at times harmful to the social fabric of the area. There was little sense of the whole, and unless one was involved in the local neighbourhood councils and had some sense of the bigger picture it was difficult to appreciate that it was not 'every neighbourhood for itself'.

Territorialism worked on two levels within the area. On one level there was the sense that it was Brae against the world. This attitude of territorialism was reinforced by the strength of reputation attached to the area. Secondly, there was the type of territorialism operating on a much smaller scale, being part of a neighbourhood as opposed to being part of the area (Brae). Neither seemed to produce very healthy attitudes or actions.

The first type of territorialism, that of 'us against them' could be seen in how people dealt with the reputation of the area. Almost without exception every respondent who spoke about the area talked about the unfavourable reputation which the papers and the television and people in general gave to the housing estate. To a certain extent it was felt that the media were responsible for the maintenance of this reputation. It was openly acknowledged that the area at one time deserved the reputation it got, but this was no longer felt to be the case, 'maybe years and years ago [Brae] was a really bad place to live but we're doing our best, you know'.

It was felt the media never gave any attention to the positive things that were happening and coming out of the area, like successful pupils and sportsmen, rather they deliberately chose to draw attention to crime, young people and gangs. A look at the newspaper articles in the Edinburgh newspapers in the year up to and including fieldwork indicated that Brae was continually associated with ill-repute, with problem kids and problem families, with serious crimes and with petty constant

criminal behaviour. One resident got extremely angry about the perception of the area in the press,

You see it in the papers all the time. And the thing that really gets to me sometimes is, I mean, I love it here, I know we're quiet, it's not as bad as everybody says. And I mean they're going back to attitudes and maybe rumours what the place was like maybe 20 years ago. And it's certainly not like that anymore, because a lot of the people have moved away, when the big flats and that were knocked down. And the thing that annoys me the most is when they bring issues up on the TV, it's always this place that's shown. Yes. Sometimes that really gets to me. My personal experience, my mother was horrified when I said I was going to buy my house here. Because of everything she had heard.

Many of the respondents constantly had to deal with people making comments about the area, that is the respondents who admitted to living in Brae. It was not unusual for colleagues to laugh or for people to feel like others were turning their noses up, 'it's a shame that the minute you mention it people go "oooh"'. It's a terrible attitude people have about it'. Another respondent had to face stigmatisation from her own children who had long since left the area. She felt they must have seen the 'underbelly of the area', another remarked that she felt 'classed as the scum of the earth'.

The implications of such a reputation presented themselves in more tangible ways with difficulty in getting work once the postcode was known. One respondent told,

I find it so hard to get a good rate of pay, they don't even call you for an interview and then they say, "oh, you live in [Brae]", and they think ok there will be drugs involvement or even the fact that that is where you stay. They actually ask your postcode. They shouldn't do that, they don't even meet you, they just want your postcode. So I think a lot of people will start using false postcodes. Pay somebody to use a postcode and you'll get a better job.

It also meant that car insurance became more expensive and little things like joining a video club outside the area were difficult. This often had the effect of increasing bitterness and strengthening the 'us and them' mentality.

When residents of the peripheral neighbourhoods talked about the reputation of Brae, without exception they each talked about it as an area different to where they belonged and lived. None of these residents felt they fell beneath the umbrella of Brae. When they talked they talked of the reputation being due to the people who

lived in there, not like their own neighbourhood, ‘the [neighbourhood name] is the [neighbourhood name]’.

People often noted that it was very easy to tarnish the whole area with a few bad people. There was a general fear and resentment at being painted by the same brush as the problem tenants and antisocial residents.

The reputation had wider effects than the direct impact on the residents lives it also affected them indirectly. Its reach extended to the type of shops that could be attracted and other types of private investment. The local shopping centre manager was unable to attract big retail names as the bad press had acted as a disincentive and they were not prepared to take up tenancy.

The effects of this reputation and labelling presented themselves in different ways, although the key result was that of isolation and exclusion, regardless of how one dealt with it. If they defended the area, they were reinforcing their ‘separateness’ or ‘otherness’ from the rest of the city. If they accepted it through silence, they were internalising that ‘otherness’. If they qualified it by claiming primary affiliation with their neighbourhood, they were creating another way of separating themselves yet again, this time from the rest of housing estate. This resulted again in isolation and exclusion, but this time from the amenities and resources found within the rest of the area, located in different neighbourhoods to their own. Responses to the labelling process provided a valuable insight into how the respondents identified with their neighbourhood, and the area at large.

2. Responses to labelling

While the resident respondents nearly all admitted there was a problem with stigmatisation, many felt it was improving. This was demonstrated when they talked about their responses to the labelling. The respondents typically handled the situation in one of three ways; either they offered a defence, an acceptance or a qualification (either through referral to a specific neighbourhood or home ownership).

Amongst the first group was Marie, a 48 year old who had lived in the area for 4 years, 'I always stick up for Brae, I always do. I would nay let anyone say anything against it'. Another woman, who had been living in the area for 22 years, Rose, told people that they were wrong, 'I'm not like that, my family is not like that, they can't just blank us'.

Others less proud of their area, found the reputation understandable, and another group felt that it would not achieve anything to defend it. Often respondents who felt like this would give the name of their neighbourhood rather than the area, in the knowledge that their neighbourhood had an acceptable reputation. It was not uncommon for respondents to feel uncomfortable and ashamed of where you were from, and to shy away from answering such questions. Additionally there were those who fell into neither category or every category, those who were ambivalent like Olive, 50, who when asked how it made her feel replied,

Well, if I was perfectly honest, sometimes it makes me feel embarrassed. That must be my little snobbish side coming out. But I'm quite aware its there. Sometimes it can make me angry, cause you know that so many pro cards are here, like anywhere else we're trying to get on with it. A mixture. I mean sometimes I'm very defensive, other times whether it's a news thing, other times I would just agree. "You're right, it's a hell of a life here". Other times, I'm very defensive.

One of the youth workers observed this ambivalence, a dichotomy of feeling about the area, 'a sense of, a kind of, pride about coming from this area and what's been done for it, but also a sense of, well its going to hold me back as well with other people'.

Within the third group, were those who named a specific neighbourhood or put the onus upon their ownership, one respondents husbands observed how 'they've changed all the street names', making the place sound like it was somewhere else entirely. This changing of names had allowed many residents the chance to escape the traditional stigma and to avoid it by using street names or neighbourhood names that were not as familiar or as infamous as the old ones and not as immediately identifiable as being part of Brae.

This habit of telling others the name of the neighbourhood one lived in seemed to have the effect of cementing the territorialism that was already in existence. The majority of respondents referred to the specific name, often in the hope that others would not know where it is, or in an attempt to differentiate their neighbourhood as better than the others. For instance,

Sometimes I say [neighbourhood name], 'cos they may not have heard of it. I'm a bit paranoid like. I can understand where they are coming from when they say that, I mean I can understand, I used to say the same when I was in Baberton. I don't always say anything to them, I mean I know where they're coming from, I used to think in the same way myself.

Another group which was important in the problems with territoriality were the young people. It was common for the young people to identify themselves with their neighbourhood. For some neighbourhoods this was more of a problem than for others, due to the mix of tenants and the number of family dwellings. It was common for the neighbourhoods with shops to have the biggest problems of this kind, with the young people taking them over to the extent that they seemed to be the ones in control. The use of gang names signifying neighbourhood and the resentment and rejection by the young people of other areas was a real problem which had ramifications for service uptake. There were three different youth agencies, each of which were located within a different neighbourhood. Each of the professional respondents from the agencies told of the difficulty of appealing to young people who lived outside of the neighbourhood of location. In this respect not only was the territorial attitude unhelpful in building and reinforcing divides it was potentially harmful for these young people, who were automatically shutting themselves out from learning skills and gaining opportunities. It seemed like the young people learned this attitude from the adults in their neighbourhood and then modelled the behaviour themselves.

When talking about the levels of incivilities, one youth worker observed how the young people in that neighbourhood were commonly those responsible for the vandalism of the building. Not only was it local young people, it was usually those who were using the service. It was not uncommon for them to graffiti on the exterior walls and to urinate and excrete in the doorways. She likened this to the behaviour

that animals use when marking their territory. For this worker, the fact that there were names covering the building and urine all over the doors, was a positive thing. It was an indication that the young people were engaging with the service provided,

One of the theories is the library, at the [shopping centre], doesn't appear to have a lot of graffiti on it and we wondered if that's because young people aren't actually interacting with it. It's not a place that they believe belongs to them or that they go. [...] I mean we'd like to think then because we're getting names written, I mean all over the building now, garishly right at the front is because they have some interaction with us. [...] it's almost a positive in a strange way. Yes, in a strange way that you actually see that as a positive. I mean another thing that they seem to do is a bit like dogs, is that they mark their territory by peeing up against the back door. And it's absolutely horrendous on a Monday morning, but again, its like, well again, are they comfortable hanging about here?

The second sense of territorialism, which was based on the division of the area into discrete and fairly obvious neighbourhoods though not initiated by the regeneration partnership, was reinforced by it. When the area was first built, it was completed at different stages and the dwelling styles differed from one place to the next. The area naturally divided into about 28 informal 'neighbourhoods'. When the Community Council was set up, they used these existing 28 neighbourhoods and worked with them. As time progressed and resources were reduced it made sense to decrease the number of neighbourhoods to allow a smaller staff to effectively deal with them. At the time of fieldwork there were twelve distinct and officially recognised neighbourhoods.

It is clear that these divisions, whilst useful in a bureaucratic sense, provided real obstacles to effectively regenerating the area. If one of the key problems in such an area was 'social exclusion', it seemed that it was done again and again as neighbourhoods excluded one another, demarcating territory and rejecting all the time. This was something often recognised by the residents as well as by the professionals.

It was common for people to only know their own neighbourhood, 'people tend to just stick to their area, get to know their [neighbourhood]'. Another resident from the same neighbourhood, where most of the amenities were located, had only been out of the neighbourhood once to visit a late night shop, 'I just know [neighbourhood

name], I just know here'. There was no feeling that this was anything less than ideal. One respondent who had at one stage been involved as a community activist and had watched the neighbourhoods be reformed and reinforced over the years felt, 'if you split people up into smaller groups, they will get more territorial'. This was repeated in each neighbourhood where fieldwork was done. One older respondent had moved within one neighbourhood, to a street about two minutes walk of where she had previously lived, she still had a lot of friends, 'just round the corner, but we never see them, they stay there, and we stay here'.

This tendency to stay within the neighbourhood, and on a smaller scale still, sometimes within the street or corner where your house was, had serious implications for the type of social capital, if any, that was being created. The most extreme example of this territorialism at work in the area was found in Braeside, in relation to the drug war that was going on. The dispute centred around issues of territory. Prior to the arrival in the neighbourhood of a group of, presumably exiled, loyalists paramilitaries from Belfast, the drugs had been controlled by certain key figures within the neighbourhood. Everybody seemed to know who these individuals were and they were constantly referred to as 'the Scottish boys'. Not only were they in charge of the drugs in the neighbourhoods they seemed to be the key figures in the area for matters of informal control and punishment. This produced an interesting relationship and regard for the police in this neighbourhood, as these 'Scottish boys' appeared to act as the local police. This had extreme implications for the amount of social capital within the area. There were high degrees of bonding capital, to the extent that the police had openly been asked to leave the Irish interlopers to the local men. Nobody, not even the police, were wanted within the neighbourhood. It was as if it believed itself to be self-sufficient and not in need of any external help. All evidence indicated otherwise.

3. Summary

It was clear that there was a small step from feelings of belonging and identity to feelings of territoriality and exclusivity. While the literature typically unequivocally advocates the encouragement of feelings of identity, it appeared that often a

neighbourhood could take these feelings and turn them in on itself. The result of high levels of these sentiments tended to be an increase in levels of bonding capital, which then seemed to inhibit or prevent the neighbourhood from looking outside itself for help. It would be naive to suggest that this was always the direction of events. There were examples within the case study of neighbourhoods whose stocks of bonding capital increased as a result of the collapse or lack of external networks and bridging capital. There was one neighbourhood that demonstrated the positive repercussions of 'belonging and identity', where it aided collective efficacy and problem solving, but this was only visible in the minority of neighbourhoods.

C. Safety

Central to understanding levels of crime and incivilities within a neighbourhood is the issue of safety. Safety or lack of safety tended to be indicative of levels of crime and incivilities within an area. Safety was explored to see if there were any differential experiences across the neighbourhood typology and also to investigate the impact of feelings of safety upon levels of social capital, whether bridging or bonding.

1. Invested neighbourhoods

There was considerable fear of crime within one of the neighbourhoods in this group, this was largely due to the presence of a large population of children and young people who appeared to be out of control. Respondents were all aware of the presence of these children and each found them threatening, with the female respondents feeling that more acutely. While only a few of the respondents had been victims of crime whilst resident within the neighbourhood, the shared perception was that crime was high. There was an awareness that the actual figure was probably less than the imagined, but rumours of latest misdemeanours did nothing to rationalise respondents apprehension.

For the majority it meant that night time activity was limited, and few people felt it was safe to walk around the neighbourhood at night. This feeling was worse amongst the female respondents,

Even during the day, you can feel your sort of step quickening to try and get through it you know [...] Well, the only thing, when I moved in I was scared, and I didn't really go and have a walk around. I found it, a lot of people will say that nowadays, you can't really just, you would look a bit odd, if you just go out for a walk by yourself. If you've got a dog you can go out for a walk, or if you've, you know, now that I've got a baby in the pram I can go and have a walk round the centre or you know just use it as a sort of excuse and you can go and see what is there.

There was a sense, shared among many of the women, that it was not safe or even appropriate to walk in the area. This was also seen in respondents' preference for taking the bus, even for one or two stops, rather than walking in the area. These same respondents happily took a bus into the city centre and walked around the shopping areas but felt prohibited from doing the same in their own neighbourhoods. In addition some female respondents sometimes felt afraid to be out after school hours, this tended to be the case with those who had been the subject of anti-social behaviour by young people in the past.

The other neighbourhood within this typology had faced similar problems but had overcome them by collective action, working with a number of agencies and organisations within the neighbourhood. There was less fear of crime and appeared to be less experience of crime also. A Neighbourhood Watch had been set up which enjoyed quite a high profile, which several respondents referred to when asked about fear of crime.

The formation of the Neighbourhood Watch had been a result of bonding capital within the neighbourhood to get the original interest going, and also of bridging capital, utilising already strong relations with the police within the neighbourhood. The other neighbourhood seemed a little constrained by its inability to act together, a result of the factionalised bonding capital due to the mis-management of tenure mix, namely the problems arising from positioning decisions.

2. Invested and maintained neighbourhoods

Again in these neighbourhoods most safety concerns centred on the local youth. There were different pockets within both neighbourhoods where teens and younger children would hang around and behave in an anti-social manner. The majority of

respondents did not walk at all at night, although one observed that she also would not walk alone in town at night. There was a shared perception that the crime was 'worse in other areas, like the other end of the neighbourhood', reinforcing the trend that the perception of crime was often worse than the actuality. However their behaviour was heavily circumscribed by the local gangs of youth and various experiences of assault and robbery. One female resident observed,

I mean, the elderly people get scared. I mean, I used to suffer panic attacks and that would bring a panic attack on for me - young people hanging about the streets and shouting names at people and abusing people that way. I mean, I used to suffer panic attacks and that would bring a panic attack on me. You know, I would be a bit wary of going a certain way if they were hanging about... daylight and at night.

Night time routes were carefully chosen and teenage children were escorted everywhere. There was a sense that the children were such a problem that they could not be tackled by the individual, however there was a belief that the housing association could and would handle problems as they arose. This appeared to offer comfort, and was a valuable result of bridging capital.

3. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

These neighbourhoods, all found in the North area, officially had higher crime rates than those areas in the South. This was reflected in the general impression that crime rates were quite high and the restriction of behaviour accordingly. Again there was a problem with youth disorder and it was quite likely that youths would go unchecked if they were observed behaving anti-socially. In these neighbourhoods it sometimes seemed like it was a case of negotiated order where the children were the ones in charge.

The group of high flats were particularly dangerous and had acquired something of a mythical reputation. During fieldwork, as the proximity to the high flats increased, the non-response rate increased. Such was the correlation, that even the distance the door was opened and the level of discussion allowed seemed to decrease accordingly. It was evident that there was a high degree of fear surrounding the flats, perhaps experienced most acutely by those living nearby than those living within. There was

a general awareness of the levels of crime, made unavoidable by a regular police appearance and visits from the drug squad.

The effects of the levels of crime, whether real or perceived, was to create and sustain high levels of fear and apprehension. This kept people inside, often making them distrustful of the police, or at least sceptical of their ability to help and too afraid to intervene themselves in disorderly behaviour should the opportunity arise.

4. Neglected neighbourhoods

Crime was not considered as much of a problem in these neighbourhoods as in the invested and neglected neighbourhoods. There was a shared awareness of the degree of incivilities, with high levels of vandalism and graffiti, with young people regarded as a particular problem in only one neighbourhood. It was usual for the respondents in these areas to point to other neighbourhoods as being more criminal. Although one of the respondents had recently been mugged, which had resulted in the curtailment of her activity due to fear, she joined the other respondents in thinking that crime had decreased in the neighbourhood.

The general attitude in these neighbourhoods was that it was much worse elsewhere, and while some of the respondents were afraid to go out at night, others were adamant that they were unconstrained by crime. These were also the neighbourhoods where there were higher levels of bonding capital, where the neighbours trusted each other to look out for them and to help them. Perhaps the higher levels of bonding capital and the sense that people would intervene reduced the levels of fear.

5. Summary

It was difficult to discern a real pattern when it came to feelings of safety. It seemed that the feelings of safety were far more dependent on the demographic detail of the respondent than the neighbourhood in which they lived. Each respondent was able to identify hotspots of criminal and disorderly behaviour, both within and without their neighbourhood, and there were often areas which were avoided. However across the neighbourhoods there was a sense that other places experienced more crime than

they did, even in those neighbourhoods which fell within the area with the highest official crime rate. While some of the neighbourhoods therefore confirm the idea that fear of crime is higher than the actual rate of crime, a few neighbourhoods did not, where fear of crime should have been higher given the high official crime rate within that area.

D. Collective norms and values

Collective norms and shared values is often at the fore of theorising about social capital, and yet interestingly it is seldom really operationalised. One explanation of this could be its proximity to trust in terms of how it could be operationalised in the field. Trust itself overlaps considerably with networks when it comes to looking at shared norms of reciprocation. This case study explored collective norms by looking at how respondents felt about those around them, and whether they felt their neighbours were like them. The reasoning behind the significance of levels of shared norms is that shared norms will increase interactions and therefore networks which will then help to facilitate collective efficacy, or Neighbourhood Ownership. This section is primarily concerned with the implications of this for stocks of social capital, namely bonding capital and the relationship of this with levels of Neighbourhood Ownership.

1. Invested neighbourhoods

Whether respondents felt they were like their neighbours or not seemed to depend in part on whether they were new into the area or whether they had lived in the area before. Those private owners who had moved in simply to take advantage of the housing offer tended to feel that they were like their fellow owners, but quite different from the tenants in the neighbourhood. They saw the tenants as having different life styles, maybe unemployed and having different interests and needs, while their immediate neighbours tended to be at the same stage of life and the problems they shared tended to be solely related to technical faults with the new build properties. The tenants were seen as having a different mindset, with one respondent who was an owner occupier feeling that they related and reasoned

differently to her. In this case those of similar tenure identified with each other, believing that they shared the same outlook on life, i.e. shared norms and values.

There was some shared feeling that the minority ethnic population was different from the rest of residents. This was magnified by these groups tendency to keep in close contact with one another. Several respondents also mentioned the suspicion engendered by the 'flashy cars and lots of people in and out'. Both the neighbourhoods within this group had concentrations of minority ethnic groups, which the other neighbourhoods did not have. However the newer neighbourhood council reflected this diversity in its membership which the other neighbourhood did not. There was an attitude, common to both neighbourhoods, that with the neighbourhood being quite new, that 'everybody feels the same about the area. We just want a decent area to live in'.

Within both neighbourhoods the tenure mix played a significant role, and it was quite different in each case. The impact of tenure mix differed in the two neighbourhoods. In one it created factions that were quite hostile, which affected how they were able to tackle problems collectively. The other neighbourhood managed to overcome such divisions, and this is reflected in how they were able to handle problems as a collective body. In the former bonding capital was high, but factionalised, whereas in the latter, although the bonding capital was only moderate, it was not factionalised and proved conducive to collective action and instances of Neighbourhood Ownership.

2. Invested and maintained neighbourhoods

The respondents interviewed in these neighbourhoods felt that the population was quite settled and peaceful. Although one or two had had some difficulties with 'problem neighbours', these had been solved satisfactorily. Some of the longer term residents had witnessed residential turnover whilst they remained and had felt the effects of children growing up and leaving, as a growing sense of isolation. It was common to be aware of problem neighbours and those with addiction problems. They were a recognised problem and the stairs they inhabited were often problematic

and avoided. These individuals tended to be isolated by the respondents and discussed as an unwanted subculture that existed within the neighbourhood. However all the respondents in the sample felt they had good stairs where they were not dissimilar from their close neighbours.

Again the bonding capital was factionalised to a point, with the 'normal' population aligning themselves against the 'problematic' population. While there is evidence that shared norms can create bonding capital, which may still be useful and constitutive of collective efficacy, this may be an example of the 'downside' of social capital. A type of bonding capital exists where instead of reaching out and including the vulnerable, the 'normal' population concentrated on creating and cultivating bonds with each other:

3. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

Due to the number of neighbourhoods within this typology there was some diversity in the norms held. Generally the residents felt there was some differentiation between owner occupiers and those who were tenants, although such were the deteriorating condition of the neighbourhoods that the problems faced collectively appeared to partly overcome this distinction. In one sense they were all in the same boat.

The respondents in the group of high flats had only impressions of what those around them were like, finding the design of the dwellings an impediment to forming relationships. Clearly the on-going drug war had united the neighbourhood in terms of factionalising the Scottish residents and the Irish residents, creating a degree of nationalistic fervour and respective backing of 'our boys'. This faith in 'our boys' appeared to be held collectively, and fuelled a reluctance to allow the police the powers to police when it could be done more effectively informally.

The extent to which the residents identified with one another applied differently in these neighbourhoods. Generally they all had quite high levels of bonding capital, resulting from the solidifying effect of shared problems and shared situation in life, and the perception that that was the case. This was seen at its most extreme in the hi-flats where the shared faith and reliance on 'the Scottish boys' was responsible for

high levels of bonding capital, where the population looked within for solutions to its problem. This reinforced the lack of bridging capital by refusing to look outside the neighbourhood, even to the police.

4. Neglected neighbourhoods

It was in these neighbourhoods that residents seemed to feel they had most in common with their neighbours. Long term residents had experience and knowledge of those around them and a general sense of belonging to that neighbourhood. There was wariness of the population that were transient and a slight hostility towards them, but mostly the respondents concentrated on those they knew they had much in common with. It was commonly considered that one of these neighbourhoods was the most settled and the most homogenous of the whole estate, and this was supported by the respondents within that neighbourhood.

The understanding that neighbours were alike and at the same place in life, and with many shared experiences provided high levels of bonding capital. In addition the reliance on amenities and services located within the areas meant that there was little chance or need to create or reinforce bridging capital, as the general outlook was introverted.

5. Summary

Rather than increase levels of Neighbourhood Ownership there was a danger that shared norms and values resulted in increased stocks of bonding capital, which then potentially inhibited the formation of bridging capital. As it was bridging capital which ultimately enables collective action to succeed, the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of shared norms tended to have lower levels of Neighbourhood Ownership.

E. Informal social control

Sampson understood collective efficacy operationally to be analogous to informal social control. Informal social control features in this research as one element of the

component Neighbourhood Ownership. Respondents understood informal social control as intervening in what was going on around them in the neighbourhood, typically this related to intervening in disorderly behaviour amongst the young people. Informal social control is an indicator of collective efficacy within a neighbourhood, and forms an important part of the important component Neighbourhood Ownership.

1. Invested neighbourhoods

There were often high levels of efficacy displayed at the level of the individual in these neighbourhoods. Clearly to become resident in one of these neighbourhoods there were processes to go through, and it was a more active process than the passivity of its counter-part, i.e. where the local authority was the landlord. Indeed the very fact of residence in these neighbourhoods demonstrated some degree of self efficacy. However, when it came to instances of personal intervention the respondents within both these areas were happier to act as part of a group, feeling that either the others concerned would not listen to them or that it may cause them problems in the future. The minority that had intervened in incidents of youth disorder would not do so again. There was a reliance and a faith in the local infrastructure to handle these problems.

In one of the neighbourhoods there had been a history of youth disorder centring on the local corner shop. One resident described what had happened,

When the shop first opened, they were getting a lot of trouble. There were teenagers going in at night and stealing things. They used to go in and fill the basket up with coffee and just walk out with it and things like that. And the staff were too scared to approach them. So what happened is they got a security guard in, he's in there now. I think it was about a year after the shop opened it got broken into. But they got the guys that done that. I think they've had their share, and at one time we thought they were going to close the shop down because they couldn't afford the insurance with all these things happening, but it seems to have settled down a wee bit now.

This makes sense if understood within the context that these neighbourhoods had lower levels of bonding capital. The ties between residents were not as strong as in other neighbourhoods, partly due to the fact that they were relatively newly

established neighbourhoods. This reliance on the agencies and organisations to solve the problems appears to be bridging capital inhibiting the formation of bonding capital.

2. Invested and maintained neighbourhoods

Respondents in these neighbourhoods were far more likely to have intervened on an individual basis in the past with incidents of disorders and incivilities. One felt she had the support of her neighbours and had put a petition together which they all signed. Another claimed, 'I'm always writing a letter, here, there and everywhere'.

These neighbourhoods were longer established and the residents were more likely to know the names of children and seemed to feel less frightened of the kids, i.e. the bonding social capital was stronger. There was not the same problem with having to negotiate order within these neighbourhoods.

3. Invested and neglected neighbourhoods

These neighbourhoods preferred to intervene on an individual basis, the exception being the high flats where people tended to keep themselves to themselves. In the former neighbourhoods each of the respondents had recounted examples of when they had intervened, usually involving young people behaving badly. The majority of them were doubtful as to whether they would do so again, feeling that their safety may have been threatened. The high flats remained a neighbourhood that was known for being problematic, both in terms of the population and the profile of the neighbourhood, one respondent said,

I think the worst area surrounding here is the high-rise [...] they're terrible. It's just full of drug addicts. Absolutely full of them... again they're all quite young. When I got pregnant with Kiernan I got offered there. I got offered a nice home, but I thought no way...

In these neighbourhoods, excluding the high flats, the bonding capital was high, with residents feeling they knew the children and had a responsibility to the area to intervene. However this was being slowly diminished as the young people became

more and more out of control, and indeed more and more in charge of the public spaces within the neighbourhoods.

4. Neglected neighbourhoods

The respondents that fell into this category mostly felt capable of handling the young people and other problems in the locality themselves. They each recounted examples of tackling incidents of disorder in the past. Some of the respondents also told of steps they had taken to work positively with the ‘youngsters’, trying to improve their situation. Again it was common for the children to be known in some of these areas, but the populations were split, between the long termers and the transient. Those who had been there for some time were an ageing population and were beginning to feel less able to act in the ways outlined above.

The lack of bridging capital in these areas meant that the residents felt there was no real external source that could improve the local situation, this in part explains the willingness to tackle the problems as individuals. However it was clear that as a significant percentage of the population aged and another part of it was extremely transient and often problematic, the old forms of informal social controls were disappearing.

5. Summary

The amount of informal social control seemed to be more related to the level of efficacious individual action than that of the collective. It seemed to increase where the bonding capital was higher, as there the respondents seemed to feel better positioned and better supported to intervene in situations. However when it came to organising incidences of informal social control it was much more dependent on the level of bridging capital within the neighbourhood. Where stocks of bridging capital were higher, residents were more likely to feel there was the infrastructure for collective action to succeed, and thus they were more likely to attempt it.

Conclusion

The different elements of Neighbourhood Ownership are intricately connected, and seem to be clearly related to the levels of social capital, whether bonding or bridging. The horizontal paradigm of trust is best discussed within Neighbourhood Networks, but the vertical is important here, in Neighbourhood Ownership. The relationship between resident and landlord was crucial in how the resident regarded the neighbourhood and the level of effort put into the neighbourhood. When the homes were neglected, building resentment towards the landlord resulted in an eventual decrease in levels of community activism. The worse the state of the neighbourhood, the less people wanted to identify with it, resulting in decreased feelings of ownership and responsibility. This of course affected how they perceived their role within the neighbourhood, both in terms of informal social control, and neighbourhood activism.

Trust in the police varied from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, seeming to be particularly connected with the presence and quality of community policing. There were a number of barriers to maintaining levels of trust between police and resident, but all respondents shared a view that the police were necessary and that they had a very specific job to do, and there was a general desire to see the police getting on with that job. Good relations with the police increased a neighbourhood's bridging capital, which had all sorts of by-products for a neighbourhood, for instance not only would people feel better about fear and crime, but they were also more likely to get involved in neighbourhood activities. There was a desire to share ownership of the neighbourhoods with the police, sharing responsibility for maintaining order, with the bulk falling within the remit of the police. The one exception to this was Braeside, where the 'Scottish boys' had assumed the role of policing the area, and wanted to work alone.

The area had a fractured and at times contested identity, reinforced by its division into twelve different micro neighbourhoods. This territoriality manifested itself in various ways, although the result often seemed to be the creation of bonding social capital. The sense of 'us against them' cemented notions of territoriality and exclusiveness, which often meant that many agencies and organisations which could

have provided some benefits to the neighbourhood were included within the 'them', and the services were not used.

Where bridging capital was high, there was less of a need for informal social control. Bridging capital provided the neighbourhood with the necessary links and networks which made informally controlling the neighbourhood a shared task, which no longer fell primarily on the shoulders of the residents. Where there was greater amount of bonding capital neighbourhoods tended to operate with an attitude of exclusive territoriality. While this may mean that the residents are more willing to intervene in situations and exercise informal social control, it may be in an illegitimate manner, i.e. the Scottish boys who wanted to sort the Irish gang out themselves, without the interference of the police.

Higher levels of bonding capital appeared to preclude or inhibit the flourishing of bridging capital. It is difficult to ascertain the direction of causation here, but high levels of bridging capital did not happily coexist with bonding capital. It may be a case of the rejected rejecting their rejectors.

Neighbourhood Ownership was hypothesised in Chapter 4 as being the last mediating process operating in the neighbourhood on levels of crime and disorder. The qualitative case study has confirmed that levels of Neighbourhood Ownership are determined by the amount of Neighbourhood Organisation and Networks present. Neighbourhood Ownership is made up of those variables that make a direct impact on levels of crime, like trust and informal social control. Therefore it may be expected that when looking at the three macro neighbourhoods of North Brae, South Brae and Braeside, that there would be notable differences in their levels of Neighbourhood Ownership. This is true to an extent but the other Neighbourhood Components and the degree of Neighbourhood Investment are perhaps of equal, although less obvious, importance.

The North neighbourhood which had the highest levels of crime also had the lowest levels of Neighbourhood Ownership. This was exaggerated by the lack of bridging capital, produced by a lack of trust in the police and the local landlord. The South

neighbourhood, which had the lowest levels of crime had the highest rates of Neighbourhood Ownership. This was seen in several examples of collective action to solve problems, often related to criminal and disorderly behaviour. The recent investment had created high levels of bridging capital and the bonding capital produced was conducive to reinforcing those external networks. Interestingly Braeside, with crime rates between the North and South, had considerable levels of informal social control but their stocks of Neighbourhood Ownership were not as high as in the South. This was due to the lower levels of trust within the neighbourhood. This neighbourhood was unlike the other two as the large stocks of bonding capital and almost complete lack of bridging capital created a type of Neighbourhood Ownership that was exercised illegitimately, often pursuing legitimate goals, i.e. decreased crime and disorder, but through illegitimate means, i.e. gang warfare.

It is clear that the Neighbourhood Causal model outlined in Chapter 4 and seen below, (Figure 7.1) is supported by the qualitative case study. The model will be discussed further, along with the implications for policy, in the next chapter.

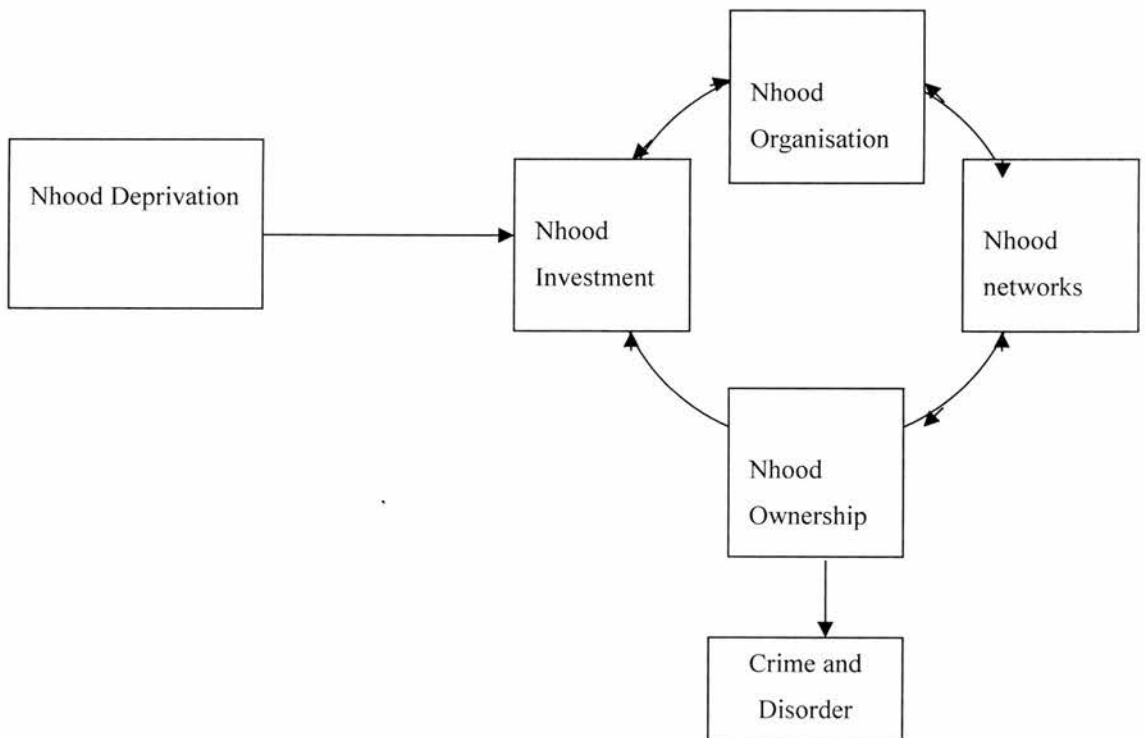


Figure 7.1. The causal pathway; from deprivation to crime and disorder

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis has been primarily concerned with understanding how the concepts of social capital and collective efficacy have been used within criminology and within government policy in the UK and specifically in Scotland. A set of ecometrics was developed to mobilise these concepts and explore what effects they have on levels of crime and disorder within the neighbourhood. Chapter 1 contained a summary of the aims and objectives of the thesis (as seen below) and this concluding chapter outlines how these objectives have been met.

Aims and Objectives

The objectives listed in the introductory chapter were as follows;

- a) critically evaluate the theories of social capital and collective efficacy
- b) develop an operational definition of social capital and collective efficacy and use this to specify detailed measures that can be used in a survey of residents within Edinburgh
- c) by applying these measures in a survey of residents, contribute to the development of an 'ecometrics'
- d) distil broader measures of neighbourhood dynamics from analysis of the survey of residents
- e) conduct a more open and flexible study of neighbourhood dynamics in selected areas to gain a deeper understanding of underlying processes
- f) in these ways provide a sounder basis for future research (eg within the Edinburgh Study on Youth Transitions and Crime) on the influence of neighbourhood dynamics on crime and disorder
- g) consider the implications of results so far (i) for social capital theory and (ii) for policy on neighbourhood regeneration and crime prevention.

This conclusion will show how the thesis research has contributed to the fulfilment of these objectives.

(a) critically evaluate the theories of social capital and collective efficacy

The second chapter discussed how neighbourhood and crime have been traditionally understood within criminology, looking at both the old and new Chicago school, i.e. from social disorganisation theory to Sampson's use of social capital and collective efficacy. The concept of social capital as explored within criminology was found to be lacking. Drawing on social and political theory enabled a critical analysis of current usage of the concept, highlighting how it has been separated from other sorts of capital, whether human or financial, and from any political context. Hope's vertical and horizontal dimension was related to the distinction between bridging and bonding social capital (1995, 1997). It was concluded that social capital has been inadequately theorised and operationalised. The political or 'vertical' dimension of a neighbourhood was held to be key to the development and type of social capital within a specific neighbourhood and the omission of this dimension from the current understanding of social capital is problematic. It was argued that social capital and collective efficacy could be operationalised together, providing the theoretical basis for the development of an 'ecometrics'.

(b) develop an operational definition of social capital and collective efficacy and use this to specify detailed measures that can be used in a survey of residents

Detailed typologies of social capital and collective efficacy were developed in Chapter 3. These typologies listed various domains of the concepts and indicators of those domains, thus outlining specific measurable processes. These typologies were heavily influenced by prior research and informed by the discussion of the theoretical literature within Chapter 2. Their development was a solution to the problem presented by the inherent difficulty of measuring the ill-defined notion of social capital.

(c) by applying these measures in a neighbourhood survey, contribute to the development of an 'ecometrics'

A range of neighbourhood measures and criterion measures were selected, based upon the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2. These measures then formed the basis for the development of an 'ecometrics'.

Descriptive statistics and correlation matrices using these Neighbourhood and Criterion Measures suggested that while some Neighbourhood Measures were highly correlated with Criterion Measures, some were not at all. It was often the case that these Neighbourhood Measures were correlated with other Neighbourhood Measures. It was argued that these inter-correlations provided grounds to perform Principal Component Analysis on a selection of the Neighbourhood measures that were indicators of social capital and collective efficacy.

(d) distil broader measures of neighbourhood dynamics from analysis of the survey of residents

Principal Component Analysis carried out on the individual level data suggested that there were three processes or dynamics that were undergirding the neighbourhood measures. These Neighbourhood Components were discussed in light of theory and labelled, Neighbourhood Ownership, Neighbourhood Networks, and Neighbourhood Organisation. Initial regression analysis was carried out on these Neighbourhood Components, which indicated that Neighbourhood Ownership was the most important of the three in predicting levels of crime and disorder.

As a result of these findings a model was developed which contrasted with the work of Sampson (see Figure 8.1 & 8.2 later in the chapter). It was hypothesised that although Neighbourhood Ownership may be the last mediating variable in the causal pathway to crime and disorder, the other neighbourhood components were also important, but earlier on in the causal chain. In agreement with Hope and Pitts, who had noted that little attention has been paid to how disinvestments can exclude and undermine or reshape stocks of social capital (1997:41), it was decided that the level

of Neighbourhood Investment should be put into the model at an early stage.

Neighbourhood Investment acted as a mediating variable on both level of deprivation and on the Neighbourhood Components in a bi-directional relationship.

(e) conduct a more open and flexible study of neighbourhood dynamics in selected areas to gain a deeper understanding of underlying processes

Three meta neighbourhoods (of the 91 Edinburgh neighbourhoods delineated by the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime) were selected to be part of a case study. Selected on the basis of proximity and shared levels of socio economic stress, it was hoped that the qualitative research would discover whether neighbourhood processes contributed to their significantly differing crime rates. It is uncommon for both qualitative and quantitative approaches to be used in social capital and neighbourhood research and this thesis has argued that both are vital.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 presented an analysis of the qualitative data from the case study, approached thematically using the Neighbourhood Components. The different neighbourhoods were discussed in detail, including demographic detail and crime and deprivation levels. A neighbourhood typology, relating to the neighbourhood's access to resources, was developed which provided a framework through which the different elements of the Neighbourhood Components were assessed. The use of the typology enabled Neighbourhood Investment to be kept central to the analysis, unlike previous research in this area. Data analysis revealed a number of interesting points about the Neighbourhood Components.

1) Neighbourhood Networks

The interaction between bridging and bonding capital is complex, with large amounts of bonding capital acting to inhibit the formation of bridging capital. This occurred in two ways, firstly when the bonding capital is strong it can create within the neighbourhood an attitude of self-sufficiency that is exclusive of those outside it.

Secondly, if the stocks of bridging capital are small there is no real source of external help to which the neighbourhood can appeal. The neighbourhood then needs to become self-sufficient and may be left with increasing feelings of isolation, exclusion and abandonment. These feelings are reinforced by visible signs of under investment and neglect in the neighbourhood. It was argued that it is the bridging capital which is key for neighbourhood processes to really work positively, but the bonding capital is important in how it affects the bridging. In other words, following Hope (1995), it is argued that the vertical dimension is dominant, the present findings suggest that the horizontal dimension may also influence it substantially.

2) Neighbourhood Organisation

There was a discernible relationship between neighbourhood organisation and neighbourhood ownership which appeared to be bi-directional. Neighbourhood Organisation was not equated with the social organisation and disorganisation of the Chicago school, but rather referred to the level of service provision and amenities within the neighbourhood. The level of neighbourhood organisation tended to reflect to some extent the level of bridging capital, as much of the time the services and facilities had been provided by an external source and a relationship had then built up.

3) Neighbourhood Ownership

Neighbourhood Ownership appeared to be directly related to the levels of crime and disorder. It also appeared to differ according to what type of social capital was prevalent in the neighbourhood. Where the dominant type of social capital was bridging, the neighbourhood displayed high levels of neighbourhood ownership. This was the case in neighbourhoods that had undergone investment and were able to maintain it. The networks formed with the various actors party to the investment and redevelopment tended to remain involved and important in the neighbourhood.

Trust emerged as an important constituent of Neighbourhood Ownership, not only trust between residents but also outsiders to the neighbourhood, including the degree

of trust felt towards the police and the various landlords, whether local authority or housing association. It was within this component that the interactive relationship of bonding and bridging capital was most obvious. Additionally, where bridging capital was high there was less reliance on informal social control, where maintaining control within the neighbourhood was a shared task which the residents shared with a number of external bodies. The research provided evidence of high levels of exclusive, territorial informal social control within the one neighbourhood with the highest levels of bonding capital and the least bridging capital. The Neighbourhood Ownership exercised within this neighbourhood was neither legitimate nor legal. This is an important caution to those who advocate increasing stocks of social capital, without making the crucial distinction between the type of social capital to be encouraged. Without this distinction the effects could easily echo the experience of this under invested neighbourhood.

These findings presented through the framework of the Neighbourhood Components suggested that neighbourhood processes operated in a different way than had been previously theorised by Sampson and Groves (1989). A new model was developed.

A new model

A new model dealing with the causal pathway to crime and disorder emerged from this thesis, as seen in Figure 8.1.

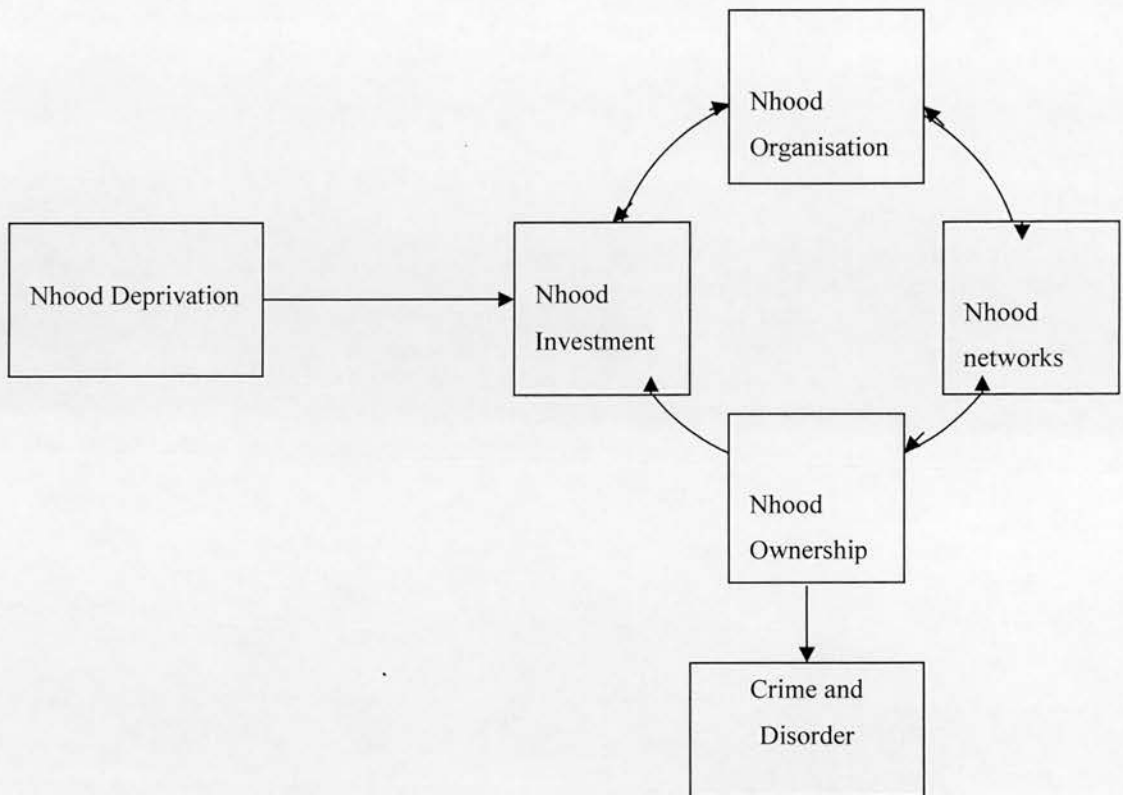


Figure 8.1: The causal pathway; from deprivation to crime and disorder.

The model in Figure 8.1 suggests that the causal pathway from deprivation to crime and disorder is not a linear sequence. While the Neighbourhood Components play an important role in shaping the level of crime and disorder, there is a complex interaction between the different components. Neighbourhood Ownership is the last in the sequence. It encompasses informal social control and high levels of trust, processes that are expected and acknowledged to be important in delivering crime control, although this end result is also affected by a number of other processes. Each of the Neighbourhood Components interacts productively with the others: as one increases, the others tend to increase. Although each of the Neighbourhood Components, which are made up of various neighbourhood processes, plays an important role, each functions only by mediating the level of Neighbourhood Investment. The investment in the neighbourhood is something that occurs earlier in the causal pathway, cushioning the effects of deprivation; it then influences crime and disorder through its effect on the Neighbourhood Components. The

Neighbourhood Components, made up of processes and dynamics operating at neighbourhood level are distinguished from Neighbourhood Investment which is not a process in the same way, coming usually from outside the neighbourhood.

This differs significantly from Sampson's model, as seen below, in Figure 8.2.

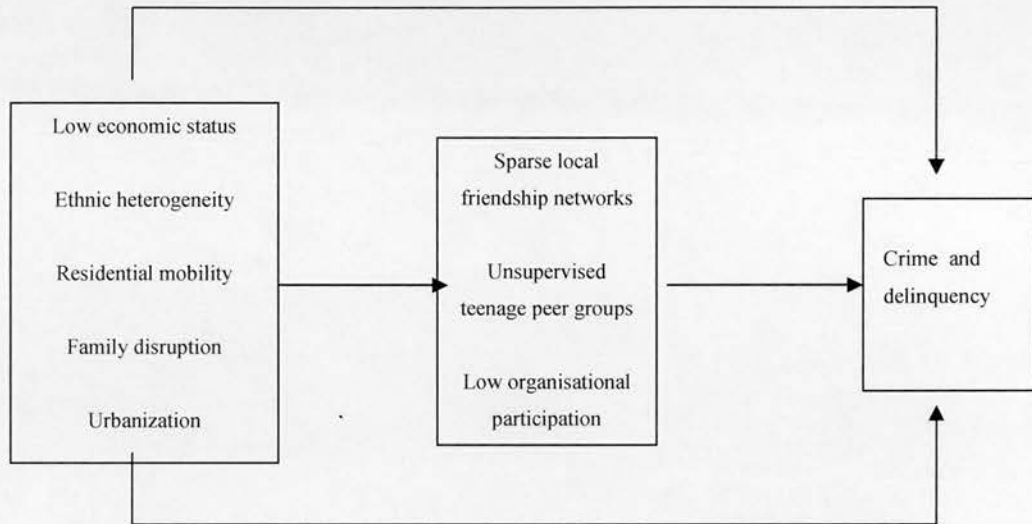


Figure 8.2 : Sampson and Groves' Causal model of community systemic structure and rates of crime and delinquency.

SOURCE: Sampson and Groves (1989:783).

Sampson has not built into his model of causation any factors external to the neighbourhood. In this he joins many others who use social capital theory in a similar way, concentrating only on internal or bonding capital, and without considering bridging capital. For Sampson collective efficacy (which includes social capital) is the mediating variable between the deprivation variables and crime. The model developed in this thesis looks at those same deprivation variables in the form of a single z score and then looks at how various neighbourhood processes act to mediate the deprivation in the causal pathway to crime and disorder. Additionally the model developed allows the impact of Neighbourhood Investment to be included. The case study revealed that the level of neighbourhood investment was crucially important in determining the levels of the Neighbourhood Components, with a positive feedback

effect, where the Investment increased as a result of increased amounts of the Neighbourhood Components. For Sampson collective efficacy includes the concept of social capital. In this thesis social capital includes collective efficacy. Social capital has its effect (becomes collectively efficacious) through the three Neighbourhood Components of neighbourhood processes that have been identified.

It has been clear that the differential stocks of social capital within the neighbourhoods contributed to the levels of crime by determining how that neighbourhood dealt with local manifestations of crime and disorder. The population of the different areas did not differ so much that the different crime rates could be explained by housing differences alone (North Brae was 50% local authority housing and South Brae was 44%). There were, however, other important dynamics and processes at work, for instance Neighbourhood Investment. The level of investment throughout the three meta neighbourhoods and the changes in structure can be seen in the restructuring and creation of new output areas in the 2001 census data.

The 2001 census data shows there to be no major differences in the deprivation levels of the three neighbourhoods. While the 1991 census showed South Brae to be far more socially economically stressed than North Brae, and Braeside to some extent, the meta neighbourhoods emerge as more similar in the 2001 data. However the crime rates remain markedly different, with North Brae being far more criminal than either South Brae or Braeside, keeping the three neighbourhoods an interesting case study in which to explore neighbourhood dynamics and crime and disorder

(f) in these ways provide a sounder basis for future research (eg within the Edinburgh Youth Study) on the influence of crime and disorder

The framework of the Neighbourhood Components and their constituent variables will be used further in the Edinburgh Study on Youth Transitions and Crime. This will allow different quantitative approaches to be taken, including multilevel modelling. The neighbourhood structure of the Edinburgh Study will allow one of

the key problems of research in this area to be rectified, i.e. the concentration on deprived areas. The Edinburgh Study gathers data on all the neighbourhoods in Edinburgh and will be able to draw conclusions about the different neighbourhood processes at work and the impact of these upon rates of crime and incivilities in these different types of neighbourhood. A question will have to be included in the future on the level of investment within the neighbourhood as perceived by respondents, in order to assess Neighbourhood Investment.

Limitations of research

This research within this thesis has significant limitations which will hopefully be addressed in future research. The case study work, where most of exploration of the concepts was carried out, had serious sampling limitations. It was unknown at the commencement of research that the two adjacent neighbourhoods would become three and that then those three would become twelve micro neighbourhoods. This is very important as neighbourhoods exist not only naturally but also as a result of local administrative structures e.g. the twelve micro neighbourhoods in the case study, and their scale is unlikely to be determined by policy directives and those in government. Neighbourhoods arise organically, on the ground and this is where research must study them and where policy needs to respond to them. Unfortunately with a single researcher performing in-depth interviews the total sample only afforded between 3 and 6 respondents per micro neighbourhood. This is clearly inadequate to draw definitive conclusions but does allow some interesting questions to be raised and tentative conclusions to be drawn.

The quantitative data contains little data on the vertical dimension of neighbourhood. This was due in part to lack of foresight in the development of the questionnaire and in some way contributes to and compounds the general lack of attention paid to this aspect of neighbourhood in research. There had been concerns over whether respondents would be able to assess the stocks of bridging capital within their neighbourhood and to recognise how far the reach of their neighbourhood extended. However, with hindsight, it may have been better to include some questions measuring it and decide upon completion whether to include them within the

analysis. The case study partly addressed this, allowing more attention to be paid to the bridging capital/ vertical dimension.

(g) implications of results on (1) social capital and (2) policy

(1) social capital

The model which was developed in response to the findings of the research suggests that social capital as it stands is an inadequate framework within which neighbourhood and crime can be better understood. However when social capital is fully operationalised, and used conjointly with collective efficacy, it becomes a useful lens through which to view neighbourhood and crime.

The model also suggested that neighbourhood investment plays a key role in the pathway to crime and disorder. Apart from Bourdieu social capital theorists have tended to keep any other types of capital, whether financial, human or cultural, separate from social capital. The Edinburgh research suggests that this is not only unrealistic, it is wrong. There are interactive processes which go on between the different types of capital, and if rich neighbourhood is rich in one type it may be easier to access and increase stocks of other types. In a financially wealthy neighbourhood, for example, there will be a range of cultural capital available, accessible both within and without the neighbourhood.

1.1 Neighbourhood size

The size of neighbourhoods studied is crucial to researching this area and therefore also to the policy which is informed by this research. According to the census 2001, the population of the three meta neighbourhoods studied in the case study ranged from 2,391 to 4,923. These three meta neighbourhoods were further divided into twelve distinct and recognised micro neighbourhoods. It was within these micro neighbourhoods that processes and dynamics were studied. This is on quite a different scale to the equivalent research done in Chicago by Sampson, where the average neighbourhood population was 8,000. There are serious questions as to

whether studying an area that size can afford opportunity to study the processes and dynamics that operate at a neighbourhood level. If the Edinburgh findings are generalisable at all, then neighbourhood actually exists on quite a small scale. Within Sampson's neighbourhood there will be numerous micro neighbourhoods, each with its own identity and own way of functioning and handling crime and disorder.

It may be relevant to return to the three distinctions developed by Bursik and Grasmick (1997) in their systemic theory of social control within the defended neighbourhood. They theorised that within neighbourhoods there were processes operating at the private, parochial and public level. In order to assess the processes operating at the private level, and to some extent the parochial level, it is necessary to ensure that the neighbourhood being studied is an appropriate size to encapsulate those different levels. If the neighbourhood is too big, the dynamics at the private level are likely to be entirely lost, and those operating at the parochial level may not be easily discerned if the neighbourhood includes more than one 'parochial' area. In order to be able to study the 'defended neighbourhood' it is crucial to choose the correct size of neighbourhood where there are not several such neighbourhoods.

This raises questions for the increasing neighbourhood specificity of policy. If neighbourhoods predate the policy it seems it may be logical for more effort to be made to target neighbourhoods as they exist, which may be quite different from electoral wards or other administrative means of delineating locale.

(2) policy

2.1 Type of social capital

The concentration on creating social capital without an acknowledgement of the different types of capital and their potential negative as well as positive effects on 'community' is a critical flaw of current policy in this area. The language used within policy tends only to be 'social capital' (Commission for Social Justice 1994, Home Office 2003), never the more specific terms of bridging capital or bonding capital. There is some awareness that communities and neighbourhoods need to be connected

to other neighbourhoods, and the general inter agency approach suggests that different agencies and organisations should be involved in reducing crime and disorder (Crime and Disorder Act 1998 s5). There is no explicit awareness that this is different from building neighbourliness and internal networks. However, while social capital is used in this indistinct manner it is a catch-all concept, remaining vague in definition and operation. It is unlikely to inform policy positively while it remains in this form.

2.2 Emphasis on Bonding capital

Although the distinction between bridging and bonding capital is not well understood within the policy debate, politicians and community workers commonly assume that social capital is about networks and norms, i.e. what is effectively understood as bonding capital, even if not in those terms. There is an assumption that it is always a good thing to increase neighbourliness. There is also much talk of increasing shared norms in order to retrieve notions of community (Blunkett 2002). All this is done without any awareness of the potential dangers of appeals to this sort of community, which may easily become inward looking, territorial and exclusive. The case study revealed that neighbourhoods with the greatest stocks of bonding social capital were far from ideal communities in which to live. While there may have been increased informal social control, it often operated in illegitimate ways and pursued a mixture of legal and illegal ends.

Not only is bonding capital easier to create, it is cheaper to create. If social capital policy remains ill-considered, and concentrated on deprived neighbourhoods, stocks of bonding capital will increase, increasing territorialism and exclusion. Effectively this differential approach will serve to keep these people in these neighbourhoods, increasing their internal networks at the expense of their external networks.

2.3 Emphasis on Local governance

Much of the current policy is concerned with increasing the involvement of the community in crime prevention and regeneration. This is evidenced by the repeated

centrality of the interagency approach (Crime and Disorder Act 1998) and initiatives like Neighbourhood Wardens (Home Office 2001; Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal; Policy Action Team (PAT) 6) and Local Crime Fighting Awards (Home Office 2003). This implies that the community, and individuals within that community should take responsibility for acting to prevent and control crime and disorder within their neighbourhoods. By doing so this policy presumes that individuals and communities are willing to do this. The case study suggested that this was not necessarily the case. Even the neighbourhoods which had more antagonistic and less trusting relationships with the police still felt that it was the job of the police to deal with crime and incivilities within their neighbourhood, and that they ultimately relied upon them to do so. This confirms other findings (Flint and Atkinson 2003) suggesting that people do not want this 'local governance'. They want the responsibility for crime control and prevention to remain with the police, not to be shifted onto their shoulders.

The interaction between the formal state controls, ie the police, and the informal, local community controls was significant. Where the informal local controls were most powerful there remained an on going dialogue between the controlling gang and the police and there appeared to be a degree of respect for the other on both sides. However, even in that neighbourhood there was a recognition that some things were the responsibility of the police and they were allowed to perform those functions and were acknowledged to have done so successfully. To an extent the effectiveness of the police depended upon the local support. This was obvious in the majority of neighbourhoods where the police were often acknowledged to have the final say in matters of crime and disorder.

2.4 Importance of Neighbourhood Investment

The case study found that the level of investment within a neighbourhood was key in determining how high the stocks of social capital were. The neighbourhood typology was used in conjunction with the neighbourhood components to assess the various processes at work within the neighbourhood. Where there had been levels of

investment within the neighbourhood this impacted positively on the existence of Neighbourhood Components. The implications of neighbourhood investment were significant and far reaching, confirming that it has been a mistake to leave them out of the equation, something both academics and policy makers have done in the past.

It is difficult to say how this could be remedied within the current policy.

Neighbourhood Investment clearly costs money. Unlike policies centred on the multi-agency approach and the creation of social capital, it is expensive. The successful instances of Neighbourhood Investment in the case study were primarily instances of improvements of dwellings and shared spaces, both structurally and cosmetically. Additionally there was a requirement that the investment was something wanted by the residents. There were examples of investment, like a large cinema complex and the re-opening of a canal, which, although costing millions and representing a huge investment in the area, were not particularly welcomed by the residents within the sample. They were seen as a poor use of such large amounts of financial capital and neither had made use of the potential local work force. It therefore seems vital that the local community is consulted in matters of investment.

The pot of money recently assigned to the 88 most deprived neighbourhoods in Britain (Hancock 2003) may result in substantial levels of investment within these neighbourhoods. It will be interesting to watch how such money is invested and the degree of consultation involved in the process.

This thesis has confirmed the findings of Sampson and colleagues in Chicago that neighbourhood processes are important in the causal pathway to crime. However this research has included within its remit the level of investment and resource allocation within neighbourhoods. This has confirmed Sampson's warning that recognising that collective efficacy matters does not imply that 'inequality at the neighbourhood level can be neglected' (Sampson 1997), for collective efficacy we can read neighbourhood processes.

It has been suggested that the level of investment a neighbourhood receives is critical to their stocks of bridging capital, and being not dissimilar to Granovetter's weak ties, is therefore crucial to the success of a neighbourhood and its ability to act together in collective problem solving. It has also been argued that the stocks of bridging social capital within a neighbourhood may to some degree determine the ability of that neighbourhood to access resources externally for investment within that neighbourhood. In this way Granovetter's weak ties argument remains extremely relevant and topical to this debate. In many ways the bridging/ bonding distinction of social capital can be understood within his language of weak and strong ties. A neighbourhood's stock of bridging capital is therefore critical to the level of investment a neighbourhood receives (i.e. how well it is able to access and deal with external agencies and organisations, and what relationships and networks are already in place) and also critical as to how it is able to then harness that investment and make it grow. Using the theoretical framing of social capital has allowed the observation that the interaction between and levels of between stocks of bridging and bonding capital is critical to a neighbourhood's success in collective problem solving.

2.5 Concentration on deprived neighbourhoods

There is a tendency for research and policy to focus only upon the most deprived neighbourhoods. This is to some extent nonsensical as the neighbourhoods which are considered successful models are often the middle class neighbourhoods and there is little attention paid to them, and to why they are successful. Forrest and Kearns observe that,

The emphasis on what disadvantaged areas may lack rather than what apparently *successful* neighbourhoods may possess has skewed empirical research, at least in the UK, towards studies focussing on neighbourhoods perceived to have problems. This produces, at best, a partial view of local social relations and, in the absence of studies of a wider range of neighbourhood types, makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the particularities of neighbouring and associational activity in poor areas. Furthermore, such a focus obscures the role that available resources and opportunities have in underpinning social capital in better off neighbourhoods. One might say, "As well as who you know, what you've got is also important" (Forrest and Kearns 2001:2138).

The continued concentration on only deprived neighbourhoods prevents the different types of capital and levels of investment in neighbourhoods from being researched. This is problematic considering that many of the specific models that are seen in middle class neighbourhoods and deemed to be 'successful' are not currently being researched and therefore policy is not informed by successes, only failures. However if the deprived neighbourhoods are to be the main site for specific policy interventions, research must continue to uncover specific needs within these neighbourhoods. This highlights the tension between the need for continued research into deprived neighbourhoods but the necessity that the policy which that research informs also become informed, in part, by research carried out in middle class neighbourhoods.

Conclusion

The quotation that appeared at the beginning of this thesis asked whether, 'communities, social capital and civil society [can] achieve what states and markets have failed to do?' (Taylor 2002:87). It has been suggested that the concepts of community and social capital remain firmly embedded in states and markets. These concepts, however, have been used widely within policy as if this were not the case. It is not that this renders social capital of no use to us at all, but rather that it needs to be used carefully and realistically. Fine observes that,

Social capital is not a substitute for effective public policy but rather a prerequisite for it and, in part, a consequence of it. Social capital... works through and within states and markets, not in place of them (Fine 2001:89).

It has been the concern of this thesis to point out that social capital has been divorced from its political context and to find ways to understand and measure how it operates within that context, as well as the neighbourhood context.

Neighbourhood processes can make a real difference in levels of crime and disorder in the neighbourhood, but they do not work in isolation. The level of investment within the neighbourhood is crucial in determining the levels and impact of these neighbourhood processes (discussed throughout the thesis as Neighbourhood

Components). If capital, whether financial, human or cultural, is invested in a neighbourhood that investment will shape the stocks of social capital within that neighbourhood. The case study suggested that those stocks are determined to a large extent by, and exist in, an interactive relationship with the level of investment within that neighbourhood.

This brings us back to the vertical and horizontal dimension of a neighbourhood. Hope and Pitts argue,

If the horizontal dimension of community relations supplies the capacity for community self-determination and control – the traditional forces of community development theory and practice – the vertical dimension serves as a conduit for the ‘investment’ of cultural capital which may be necessary both for increasing individual opportunity and for activating the horizontal dimension of community organisation (Hope and Pitts 1997:41).

This research has suggested that the vertical dimension can activate the horizontal but also that the horizontal impacts upon the vertical dimension. Furthermore, this research has argued that neighbourhood effects, i.e. processes at work within the neighbourhood, do partially determine the levels of crime and disorder within the neighbourhood. However it has also been argued that these processes can only ever ameliorate the more significant processes of the state and markets that are as deeply embedded within the neighbourhood as their stocks of social capital. Investment levels are ‘a barometer of the health of the neighbourhood’ (Brae Community development manager). Until there is an awareness that the hierarchical, vertical dimension of neighbourhood is the dominant dimension, the success of current policy is doubtful. Until the vertical dimension becomes involved and interested in the neighbourhood it may be unrealistic to expect the horizontal dimension of a neighbourhood to deal effectively with crime and disorder. Furthermore, this level of investment and vertical involvement which the neighbourhood receives seems to be connected to self evaluations made by both individuals and the collective. As one respondent noted in discussion of neighbourhood investment, ‘if those hard-nosed bastards are in there you know that there is something worth having’.

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THE EDINBURGH NEIGHBOURHOOD SURVEY

OFFICE USE ONLY

(1 - 6)010325

(7-8) Sample point

(9-12) ID number

(13) 1

Sample point number

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Postcode

(21 - 27)

Telephone number:

Occupation of Chief Income Earner:
(Person with largest total income from any source)

.....

Sex:

Male

Female

(14)

1

2

Age:

18 - 24

25 - 39

40 - 59

60 +

(15)

1

2

3

4

Class:

AB

C1

C2

DE

(19)

1

2

3

4

Working status:

Working

Not working

(20)

1

2

DECLARATION: Interview conducted by me with respondent named above in accordance with instructions and MRS Code of Conduct

Interviewer..... Date.....

Good morning/afternoon I am an interviewer from NFO System Three, an independent research organisation. We are carrying out a survey looking at the different neighbourhoods in Edinburgh. We are interested in what your neighbourhood is like to live in - both the good things and the bad things. The research is being carried out on behalf of Edinburgh University and is funded by the Scottish Executive.

The information collected will be used to help inform the Scottish Executive's policy in this area. Your responses will remain confidential and you will not be identifiable in any of the reports or presentations that result from the study. Would you be willing to answer a few questions – the interview should take around 20 minutes to complete.

Most of the questions ask about what it's like to live in your neighbourhood. By neighbourhood, we mean the area around where you live and around your house, or within about 15 minutes walk. It may include your local shop, church and primary school. It is the general area around your house where you do your day-to-day activities like buying milk and bread, or popping in to see your neighbours.

Q.1 To start with, I'd like you ask about services and amenities that your neighbourhood has.

	Yes	No	Don't Know	
Is there a park, playground, or open space within walking distance of your home?	1	2	Y	(28)
Does the neighbourhood have a community newspaper, newsletter or bulletin?	1	2	Y	(29)
Does the neighbourhood have a Neighbourhood Watch scheme?	1	2	Y	(30)
Is there a tenants or residents association, or other group dealing with local issues?	1	2	Y	(31)
Is there a youth centre or youth club for children or teenagers in your neighbourhood?	1	2	Y	(32)

Q.2 **SHOW CARD**

Thinking about the neighbourhood you live in, in general, how would you rate it as a place to live, where 1 is 'very good' and 5 is 'very poor'?

		(33)
Very good	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
Very poor	5	5
Don't know		Y

Q.3 **SHOW CARD**

How common would you say the following things are in this neighbourhood, where 1 is 'very common and 5 is 'not at all common'?

	Very common 1	2	3	4	Not at all common 5	Don't know	
Noisy neighbours, or loud parties	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(34)
Vandalism, graffiti, or other deliberate property damage	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(35)
Groups of young people hanging around on the street	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(36)
People who have been drinking or taking drugs	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(37)
Rubbish or litter lying around	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(38)
Abandoned or burnt out cars	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(39)
Used syringes lying around	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(40)
Derelict or empty houses	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(41)

Q.4 **SHOW CARD**

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your neighbourhood?

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know
This neighbourhood has a good community spirit	1	2	3	4	5	Y
This area has a good reputation	1	2	3	4	5	Y
This area is going downhill	1	2	3	4	5	Y
If I was able to, I would like to live in another neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5	Y
I feel safe when I am out alone in this neighbourhood during the day	1	2	3	4	5	Y
I feel safe when I am out alone in this neighbourhood after dark	1	2	3	4	5	Y

(42)

(43)

(44)

(45)

(46)

(47)

Q.5 **SHOW CARD**

Sometimes people in a neighbourhood do favours for each other, for example babysitting, or helping with shopping, or lending tools or other things. How often would you say that you do favours for other people who live nearby (excluding members of your family), where 1 is 'all the time' and 5 is 'never'?

(48)

All the time	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
Never	5	5
Don't know		Y

Q.6 **SHOW CARD**

Do you belong to any of the following?

	Yes	No	Don't Know	N/A
Babysitting rota or mother and toddler group	1	2	Y	X
Parents / Teachers Association	1	2	Y	X
Church or other religious group	1	2	Y	
Neighbourhood Watch	1	2	Y	
Residents' or tenants' association	1	2	Y	
Other local groups belonged to (PLEASE SPECIFY)				
.....				

(49)

(50)

(51)

(52)

(53)

(54-55)

Q.7 SHOW CARD

How often on average would you say you use any of the following?

	Most days	At least once a week	At least once a month	Less often	Never	DK	
Local sports clubs	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(56)
Local libraries	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(57)
Local pubs, restaurants, cafes	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(58)
Local community centres	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(59)
Resource centre or Jobclub	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(60)
Local social club	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(61)
Local Church	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(62)
Local shop	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(63)
Other local facilities used, regardless of frequency(PLEASE STATE)							(64 - 65)
.....							

Q.8 SHOW CARDHow often on average in the past year would you say you have done the following things.

	Most days	A least once a week	At least once a month	Less often	Never	DK	
Visited friends or had friends visit you	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(66)
Visited neighbours or had neighbours visit you	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(67)
Been out in the afternoon or evening to socialise	1	2	3	4	0	Y	(68)

Q.9 How many of the adults that you see in the neighbourhood do you know by sight? READ OUT

- (69)
- None of them 1
- A few of them 2
- Most of them 3
- Or all of them 4

Q.10 How many of the children that you see in the neighbourhood do you recognise or know by sight? READ OUT

- (70)
- None of them 1
- A few of them 2
- Most of them 3
- Or all of them 4

Q.11 SHOW CARD

How easy or difficult is it for you to pick out people who are outsiders or who obviously don't live in the area?

(71)

Very easy 1 1
2 2
3 3
4 4
Very difficult 5 5
Don't know Y

Q.12 **SHOW CARD**

And if you saw a local child doing something wrong, how likely is it that you would know who their parents were?

(72)
Very likely 1 1
2 2
3 3
4 4
Very unlikely 5 5
Don't know Y

Q.13 **SHOW CARD**

Can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	
In this neighbourhood people do things together and try to help each other.	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(73)
People in this neighbourhood can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(74)
If I had to borrow £20 in an emergency, I could borrow it from a neighbour.	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(75)

Card 2
(1 – 12) Repeat
(13) 2

Q.14 And using this scale, where 1 is 'very likely' and 5 is 'very unlikely'....

	Very likely 1	2	3	4	Very unlikely 5	Don't know	
If a group of local children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, how likely is it that you or your neighbours would do something about it?	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(14)
If some local children were spraying graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that you or your neighbours would do something about it?	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(15)
If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was being beaten up or threatened, how likely is it that you or your neighbours would break it up or call the police?	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(16)

Suppose that the local primary school was going to be closed down by the council, how likely is it that neighbourhood residents would organise to try to do something to keep the school open?	1	2	3	4	5	Y
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

(17)

Q.15 Sometimes people in a neighbourhood do things to try and solve local problems or to make the neighbourhood a better place to live. Please indicate if you personally have been involved in the following activities in the past year?

	Yes	No	Don't Know	
Written to or spoken to an elected local official, like your MSP, about a neighbourhood problem	1	2	Y	(18)
Talked to a person or group causing a problem in the neighbourhood?	1	2	Y	(19)
Attended a residents or tenants associated meeting?	1	2	Y	(20)
Joined together with neighbours to do something about a neighbourhood problem or to organise neighbourhood improvement?	1	2	Y	(21)

Q.16 **SHOW CARD**
I'm going to read out some more statements and if you could say whether you agree or disagree with them.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	
The use of cannabis should be legalised.	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(22)
It's ok to avoid paying tax, as long as you don't get caught.	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(23)
Its okay to drive if you're a bit over the limit, as long as you're still in control of the car	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(24)
For some crimes the death penalty should be brought back.	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(25)
Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional values	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(26)

Q.17 How much of a problem do you think crime is in this neighbourhood?
READ OUT (27)

A big problem

A bit of a problem

Not a problem

Don't know

1

2

3

Y

Q.18 Compared to other parts of Edinburgh, would you say this area has more crime, less crime or about the same amount of crime as elsewhere?
PROBE: Is that a lot more or a little more? Etc. (28)

A lot more

1

A little more

2

About the same

3

A little less

4

A lot less

5

Don't know

Y

Q.19 **SHOW CARD**
Using one of the phrases on this card, could you tell me how worried you are about the following crimes?

	Very worried	Fairly worried	Not very worried	Not at all worried	N/A	Don't know	
Having your home broken into and something stolen or damaged?	1	2	3	4		Y	(29)
Being physically assaulted or attacked in the street?	1	2	3	4		Y	(30)
Having your car damaged or stolen	1	2	3	4	X	Y	(31)

Q.20 And in the past year have you actually

	Yes	No	N/A	
Had your home broken into and something stolen or damaged?	1	2		(32)
Been physically assaulted or attacked in the street?	1	2		(33)
IF NO CAR IN HOUSEHOLD, RECORD AS N/A				
And have you or anyone else in your household had a car damaged or stolen?	1	2	X	(34)

Q.21 a) In the last 12 months, have you contacted the police in this area for any reason? (35)

Yes

1

Q21b

No

2

Q22

Q.21 b) IF YES: Thinking about the LAST TIME that happened, was that to report a crime or for some other reason? (36)

Report crime

1

Some other reason

2

Q.21 c) And, on that occasion, how satisfied were you with the way that the police handled the matter? Were you... READ OUT... (37)

Very satisfied

1

Fairly satisfied

2

Not very satisfied

3

Not at all satisfied

4

Don't know

Y

ASK ALL
SHOW CARD

If you had witnessed a local youth breaking into a house in this area, how likely would you be to come forward, if asked, to give evidence in court, where 1 is 'very likely' and 5 is 'very unlikely'?

		(38)
Very likely	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
Very unlikely	5	5
Don't know		Y

SHOW CARD

If someone else in your neighbourhood saw a local youth breaking into a house in the area, how likely do you think they would be to come forward, if asked, and give evidence in court, where 1 is 'very likely' and 5 is 'very unlikely'?

		(39)
Very likely	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
Very unlikely	5	5
Don't know		Y

Do you think house-breakings in this neighbourhood are ...
READ OUT:

... Mostly done by people from <u>other areas</u>	1	(40)
... or mostly done by people from <u>around here</u> ?	2	
No house-breakings in the area	3	
Don't know/Cant choose	Y	

I am going to read out some different kinds of crimes and, for each, I'd like you to tell me whether you think the number of crimes being committed nowadays in this area is more, less or about the same as it was five years ago.
PROBE: Is that much more or a bit more, etc.?

	Much more	Bit more	About the same	Bit less	Much less	Don't know	
Assault and violence in the street	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(41)
Cars and other vehicles being stolen or damaged	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(42)
House-breaking	1	2	3	4	5	Y	(43)

How often do you see police officers walking about your neighbourhood?
READ OUT:

		(44)
Most days	1	
At least once a week	2	
A least once a month	3	
Less often	4	
Never	0	

Q.27	How often do you see police cars or vans patrolling in your neighbourhood? READ OUT:		(45)	
		Most days	1	
		At least once a week	2	
		A least once a month	3	
		Less often	4	
		Never	0	
Q.28	Interviewer to record by observation: Type of housing		(46)	
		High rise	1	
		Low rise flat	2	
		Tenement flat	3	
		4 in a block	4	
		Semi-detached house	5	
		Detached house	6	
		Terrace	7	
		Other (SPECIFY)	0	
			
Q.29 a)	Do you own this accommodation or do you rent it?		(47)	
		Owned	1	Q29b
		-----	-----	-----
		Rented	2	Q29c
Q.29 b)	IF OWNED, is it owned outright or with a mortgage?		(48)	
		Owned outright	1	
		With a mortgage	2	
		NOW SKIP TO Q30a		
Q.29 c)	IF RENTED, who do you rent this accommodation from?		(49)	
		Local council	1	
		Housing association or trust	2	
		Scottish homes	3	
		Property company / private landlord	4	
		Rent free, squatting	5	
		Other (SPECIFY)	0	
			
	ASK ALL			
Q.30 a)	How long have you lived at this address?		(50)	
		Less than one year	1	
		More than 1 year but less than 2 years	2	
		More than 2 years but less than 5 years	3	
		More than 5 years but less than 10 years	4	
		More than 10 years	5	
		IF LIVED IN PROPERTY FOR LESS THAN 5 YEARS (CODES 1 TO 3), ASK Q30B OTHERS SKIP TO Q31A		
Q.30 b)	If lived in the property for less than five years, how many times have you moved in the past five years?			

.....

ASK ALL

Q.31 a) Including yourself, how many people live permanently in this household?

WRITE IN

(52)

(53)

--	--

Q.31b) How many of those are under 18?

WRITE IN

(54)

(55)

--	--

Q.32 What age are you?

WRITE IN

(56)

(57)

--	--

Q.33 Interviewer to record by observation: (58)

Gender

Male	1
Female	2

Q.34 SHOW CARD

Can you tell me, which if any of these qualification you have? (59)

No formal qualifications	1
Standard Grade 4-7 / GCSE grades D to G or equivalent	2
Standard Grade 1-3 / GCSE grades A to C / O level passes or equivalent	3
Highers / Sixth Year Studies / A levels or equivalent	4
Professional qualification below degree level (for example teaching or nursing qualification)	5
Degree level qualification or equivalent	6
Post graduate / higher degree	7
Qualification other than those just mentioned	X

Q.35 What are you doing at the present time? Are you in work, a full-time student, or doing something else? What is that?

INTERVIEWER: PROMPT IF NECESSARY WITH ITEMS BELOW.

IF 2+ ACTIVITIES, CODE FIRST ON LIST.

(60)

Self-employed	1
Employed full-time (30+ hours per week)	2
Employed part-time (less than 30 hours per week)	3
Looking after the home or family	4
Permanently retired from paid work	5
Unemployed and seeking work	6
At school	7
In full-time further/ higher education	8
Government work or training scheme	9
Permanently sick or disabled	0
Temporarily absent from work because of short-term illness or injury	X
Other	Y

Q.36 **SHOW CARD**

Which of the groups on this card represents your household's income from all these sources, before any deductions for income tax, National Insurance, etc? Just tell me the letter the row beside the row that applies to your household.

(61)

A.....	Less than £5,000	1
B.....	£5,000 – £9,999	2
C.....	£10,000 – £14,99	3
D.....	£15,000 – £19,999	4
E.....	£20,000 – £29,999	5
F.....	£30,000 – £39,999	6
G.....	£40,000 – £49,999	7
H.....	£50,000 – £74,999	8
I.....	£75,000 or above	9
J.....	Don't know	X
K.....	Refused	Y

Appendix 2a: Sampling in the Edinburgh Neighbourhood Survey

The sample was provided by a commercial sampling organisation (Business Geographics) and had the following characteristics:

- The Postal Address File for Edinburgh was divided into 91 neighbourhoods, on the basis of an area classification devised by the Edinburgh Study team and provided in electronic format
- For each sampling point, a full list of streets (but not individual addresses) was identified and quotas (totalling 18 per area) for age, sex and working status were calculated on the basis of 1991 Census data. These are shown in the table overleaf.

Within individual areas, interviewers could visit any residential address but were required to identify and conduct interviews only with respondents who matched the specific quota requirements for that area.

	Area name	Total	18-29	30-44	45-59	60 +	Men	Women	Working	Not working
1	Abbeyhill	18	8	4	2	4	8	10	11	7
2	Baberton	18	3	7	4	4	9	9	12	6
3	Balerno	18	3	6	5	4	8	10	12	6
4	Barnton	18	3	5	5	5	9	9	10	8
5	Blackford	18	3	4	4	7	8	10	9	9
6	Blackhall	18	2	5	4	7	8	10	9	9
7	Bonnington	18	6	5	3	4	9	9	11	7
8	Boswall	18	3	4	4	7	8	10	10	8
9	Braidburn	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	9	9
10	Broughton	18	6	5	3	4	9	9	11	7
11	Bruntsfield	18	7	6	2	3	9	9	11	7
12	Burdiehouse	18	4	5	5	4	8	10	9	9
13	Calders	18	5	5	4	4	8	10	9	9
14	Chesser	18	4	4	4	6	8	10	10	8
15	Clermiston	18	3	4	6	5	8	10	10	8
16	Colinton	18	3	5	5	5	8	10	11	7
17	Comely Bank	18	5	5	3	5	8	10	11	7
18	Comiston	18	3	7	4	4	9	9	12	6
19	Corstorphine North	18	2	6	5	5	8	10	10	8
20	Corstorphine South	18	4	5	4	5	8	10	11	7
21	Corstorphine West	18	3	5	4	6	9	9	11	7
22	Craigentinny	18	2	4	5	7	8	10	10	8
23	Craiglockhart	18	3	5	5	5	8	10	10	8
24	Craigmount	18	4	5	4	5	9	9	11	7
25	Currie	18	4	5	5	4	9	9	11	7
26	Dalry	18	7	5	2	4	8	10	11	7
27	Davidson's Mains	18	3	4	5	6	8	10	10	8
28	Dreghorn	18	5	5	3	5	8	10	11	7
29	Drylaw	18	4	4	4	6	8	10	9	9
30	Durhams	18	3	4	5	6	8	10	10	8
31	Easter Road	18	6	4	3	5	8	10	10	8
32	Fairmilehead	18	3	7	5	3	9	9	12	6
33	Goldenacre	18	6	4	3	5	8	10	11	7
34	Gorgie	18	8	4	2	4	8	10	12	6
35	Gracemount	18	4	5	4	5	8	10	9	9
36	Grange	18	2	5	4	7	7	11	8	10
37	Granton	18	4	5	4	5	8	10	9	9
38	Hailes North	18	6	5	4	3	8	10	9	9
39	Hailes South	18	6	7	3	2	8	10	8	10
40	Hillside	18	6	5	3	4	8	10	12	6
41	Hyvots	18	4	4	4	6	8	10	9	9
42	Inch	18	3	4	3	8	8	10	8	10
43	Kaimes	18	3	7	4	4	8	10	12	6
44	Kirkliston	18	4	5	5	4	8	10	12	6
45	Leith	18	6	4	4	4	9	9	10	8
46	Liberton	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	11	7
47	Lochend	18	3	4	4	7	8	10	8	10
48	Longstone	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	10	8
49	Marchmont	18	8	5	2	3	9	9	10	8

The Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study

50	Mayfield	18	4	4	3	7	8	10	9	9
51	Merchiston	18	4	4	3	7	8	10	8	10
52	Milton	18	4	5	4	5	8	10	10	8
53	Moredun North	18	5	5	4	4	8	10	10	8
54	Moredun South	18	4	4	5	5	8	10	10	8
55	Morningside North	18	6	5	2	5	7	11	10	8
56	Morningside South	18	5	5	3	5	8	10	10	8
57	Muirhouse	18	5	5	4	4	8	10	8	10
58	Murrayfield	18	3	4	5	6	8	10	9	9
59	New Town	18	7	5	3	3	9	9	11	7
60	Newhaven	18	4	6	3	5	8	10	10	8
61	Newington	18	8	4	2	4	9	9	10	8
62	Niddrie North	18	5	5	4	4	8	10	8	10
63	Niddrie South	18	5	5	4	4	8	10	7	11
64	Northfield	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	11	7
65	Old Town	18	6	4	3	5	9	9	9	9
66	Orchard Brae	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	10	8
67	Oxgangs	18	4	4	4	6	8	10	9	9
68	Parkgrove	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	10	8
69	Parkhead	18	4	6	4	4	9	9	13	5
70	Polwarth	18	9	4	2	3	8	10	12	6
71	Portobello North	18	4	6	3	5	8	10	11	7
72	Portobello South	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	10	8
73	Queensferry East	18	4	6	4	4	9	9	11	7
74	Queensferry West	18	5	8	3	2	8	10	13	5
75	Ratho	18	4	6	4	4	9	9	12	6
76	Riccarton	18	4	5	5	4	9	9	11	7
77	Roseburn	18	3	4	3	8	8	10	10	8
78	Sciennes	18	8	4	2	4	9	9	9	9
79	Seafield	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	10	8
80	Shandon	18	5	6	3	4	8	10	12	6
81	Sighthill	18	5	5	4	4	8	10	9	9
82	South Gyle	18	9	7	1	1	9	9	15	3
83	St Leonards	18	4	5	4	5	9	9	8	10
84	Stenhouse	18	3	3	4	8	7	11	7	11
85	Stockbridge	18	6	5	3	4	8	10	11	7
86	Tollcross	18	8	4	2	4	9	9	10	8
87	Trinity	18	3	5	4	6	8	10	11	7
88	Warriston	18	5	5	3	5	9	9	10	8
89	West End	18	6	5	3	4	9	9	11	7
90	West Pilton	18	7	6	3	2	8	10	10	8
91	Willowbrae	18	4	5	4	5	8	10	11	7
TOTAL		1638	410	451	335	442	750	888	928	710
PERCENTAGE		100	25	28	20	27	46	54	57	43

APPENDIX 2b: SAMPLE PROFILE AND WEIGHTING

There was a slight under-representation of 18-29 year-olds in the achieved sample relative to the original quota targets - they accounted for 20% rather than 25% of the total, with a slight over-representation of older respondents instead.

This was fairly evenly spread across sample points and probably resulted from most points having one or two of the eighteen interviews out of quota. (Interviewers are generally given a small degree of flexibility in each point, with the expectation that the effects will even out across the sample as a whole.)

A weight was, therefore, created in order to restore the correct age distribution - AGEWT.

Due to an error in fieldwork allocations, 36 interviews were conducted in one area (Seafield) and there were slight shortfalls in Portobello North (11), Kaimes (10) and Moredun North (9). It was decided not to weight the data further to take account of this.

APPENDIX 2c: LETTER TO SURVEY PARTICIPANTS



Dear Sir or Madam

RESEARCH ON EDINBURGH NEIGHBOURHOODS

The University of Edinburgh together with the Scottish Executive is currently carrying out a major study looking at living in different parts of Edinburgh. The research aims to understand how communities work in different neighbourhoods of Edinburgh.

Part of this study involves a survey of individuals, asking about their perceptions and experiences of living in their neighbourhood. Your household has been selected, at random, to take part in this survey. The survey should take no more than about twenty minutes to complete. The information collected will be used to help inform the Scottish Executive's policy in this area. You can find more details on the project by visiting our website: <http://www.law.ed.ac.uk/cls/esytc/>.

The person calling to introduce and administer the interview is from **NFO System Three**, the research agency that is undertaking the survey on our behalf. Your responses will remain confidential and you will not be identifiable in any of the reports or presentations that are made from the project.

I am most grateful for your co-operation with this important piece of work.

Yours faithfully

Professor David Smith
Project Director

APPENDIX 3a: SAMPLE LETTER TO PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPANT

Name of participant

Agency name

Address

28th May 2002

Dear [Name of Participant],

Community Study of Brae

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in our study of Brae. We are very pleased that your views and experiences are going to inform our research. I am writing to confirm that our interview has been arranged for

Tuesday 4th June, at 5:30pm at the premises of [agency].

I have enclosed a list of questions and areas that I hope we will explore in the interview. I have also attached a map that divides Brae into two areas. Recent recorded crime statistics indicate that the levels of crime differ significantly between these two areas, with the crime rate being higher in North Brae. The current research project is concerned with trying to understand why that might be the case. The interview schedule is not exhaustive, there may be factors which I have not mentioned which you believe to be important. Equally there may well be areas that you feel you are not in a position to comment upon. The schedule is simply there to provide you with some indication of the particular issues the research seeks to explore.

I realise that we were not able to talk on the phone, if you have any questions, or any reservations about taking part in the research, please do not hesitate to let me know. Otherwise I look forward to seeing you on Tuesday 4th.

Yours sincerely,

Ali Brown

Research Assistant

Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime

Mobile: 07900 604652

APPENDIX 3b: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PROFESSIONAL SAMPLE

The Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime: Case Study

Interview Schedule

- 1) Attached is a map showing the areas we are comparing. In your experience are there differences between them in terms of:
 - Housing
 - Environment
 - Social problems
 - Crime
 - Young people
- 2) WE are interested in the social cohesion and trust that exists in each area, i.e.
 - Attachment between neighbours
 - Trust between residents
 - Trust in the services provided and amenities available
 - Generational mix
 - Extent of networks, both families and friends
 - Degree of transience in the population
- 3) In terms of housing, are there differences concerning the:
 - The housing tenure divisions
 - Type of housing available
 - Condition of the housing
- 4) Thinking about the ability of the neighbourhoods to regulate behaviour to achieve shared goals:
 - Are the two areas equally capable of this?
 - Do they differ in terms of:
 - i. Level of community spirit
 - ii. Readiness to intervene
 - iii. Problems faced ie. Numbers of young people, levels of crime and disorder
 - iv. Amount of incivilities – both physical and social
 - v. Attitudes to the police
- 5) Thinking a little about incivilities and physical space, are there differences between:
 - The physical environment
 - The ownership of space (public/ private space)
 - The maintenance of property and communal areas
 - Levels of social problems
- 6) How have the areas changed over the last ten years?
- 7) Is there anything you think we have missed that you believe to be important?

Thank you so much for your time and thoughts, they are very much appreciated.

APPENDIX 4a: INFORMATION LEAFLET FOR RESIDENTIAL RESPONDENTS

The Edinburgh Neighbourhood Study

What is the Study?

The project, based at Edinburgh University, is about trying to understand what it is like to live in different neighbourhoods. The whole of Edinburgh has been split into different neighbourhoods and each one will be looked at in turn. We want to understand what it is like for you to live in your neighbourhood

Why should you take part?

Do you want to help us to get a better understanding of what it is like to live in your neighbourhood? Here is your chance to have your say - to say what you like about where you live and what you don't like and what you think should be changed.

What will happen?

We will arrange a time when you are free to talk. The interview will last one to one and a half hours. There are no wrong answers, we just want to hear what you think.

What about confidentiality?

Anything you say will be completely confidential. The only exception to this is if it is revealed that someone is at risk of being hurt.

Who can I talk to about the project?

You can get in touch with the research team by writing to, *The Neighbourhood Study, Room 3.4, Minto House, Chamber Street, Edinburgh University*

INTERVIEW

Date:

Time:

APPENDIX 4b: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS

Research objectives:

- look at how residents feel about where they live
- to understand community dynamics; namely;
 - how collective efficacy operates, if it does
 - levels of trust
 - within the neighbourhood
 - without the neighbourhood

The interview will take at least one hour and up to one and a half hours. It is important that the interviewer covers what is contained within the interview guide but there is no need to cover the questions in the order that they appear.

1. Introduction

- Introduction to the study: 'this is an study all about peoples attitudes to where they live: what people think of it; how it affects people's lives...'
- Introduction to me – from the university.
- Explain about confidentiality and tape recording.

2. Background

- Age, household composition; children and ages?
- Current activity – whether working or not.
- Hobbies and interests

3. Where do you live?

- Description of the neighbourhood where you live
 - Physically where is it
 - What does it look like?
 - Size?
 - Types of buildings?
 - Uses of space
 - Facilities
 - Schools
 - Churches
 - Sports and leisure facilities
 - Shops and pubs
 - Transport
 - Community centres
 - Health care
 - Where do you live within the neighbourhood?
- Description of the people who live in your neighbourhood

- Are they all the same?
- Working or unemployed?
- What sort of jobs do they do?
- Any ethnic minorities?
- Are you like the rest of your neighbours?
- Do they get along?
- Any problem families?
- Single parents?
- Homelessness?
- Lots of teenagers, kids? Many old people?
- Do people stay here for a while or are they always looking to move on?

4. Networks

- Do you know many people here?
- Would most of your friends live around here?
- What about your family?
- How would you describe your friendship groups, networks?
- What other networks, friendship groups, are there that you know about?

5. Trust

- What does 'trust' mean to you
- thinking about who you trust?
 - If you were in trouble or needed some help, who would you go to?
 - Does anyone come to you, for help?
 - How do you feel about your neighbours?
 - And others in your neighbourhood?
 - And the other side of the estate
- What about others
 - The police
 - Dealings with the police
 - Image and view of the police
 - Treated fairly?
 - Trust them?
- The housing associations?

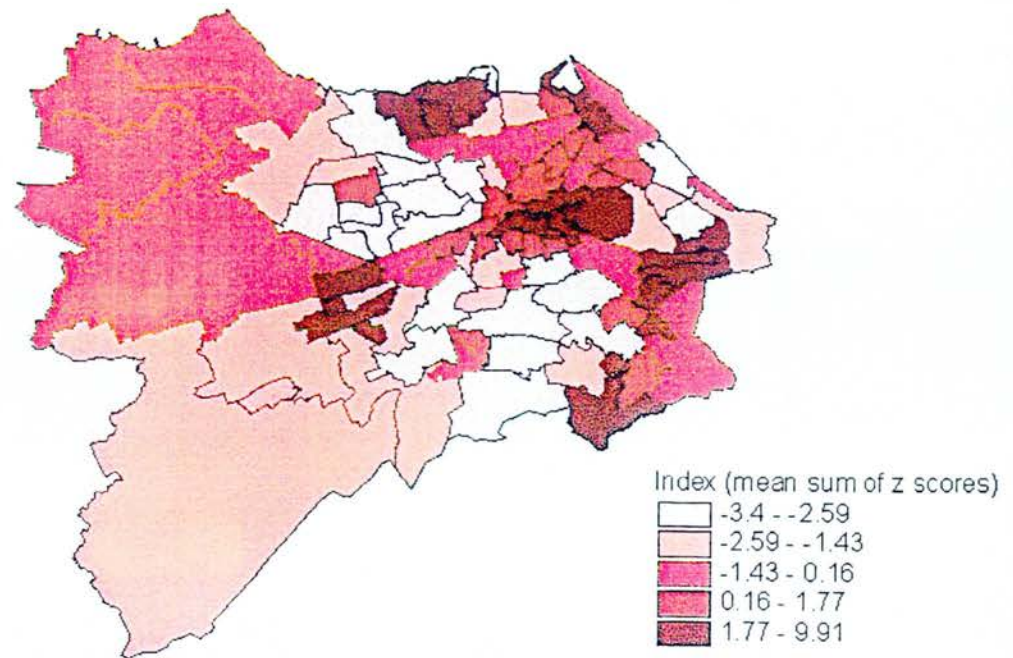
- What contact have you had?
 - How did you feel about it?
 - Did it work out as you wanted?
 - Community workers and projects?
 - What ones do you know of?
 - How do you feel about them?
 - How do you think others feel?
 - Would you trust them?
6. Collective efficacy?
- What sort of situation might arise or have arisen when there was a need for a group of you to act together?
 - What was the outcome?
 - How would you go about getting a group together?
 - Do you have a role to play?
 - Would you want to be involved?
 - Have you ever, or are you currently involved in any group activity?
 - What about on an individual level
 - Have you ever needed to sort anything out?
 - How did it work out?
 - Were you pleased, would you do it again?
 - Do you think you are good at things like that?
 - Do you think things like that are important?
7. Community
- Thinking about your community...
 - What does the word community mean to you?
 - Do you think you live in a community?
 - Is there a feeling of community?
 - Do you care?
 - What sort of things are you involved in?
 - Is there anything stopping you being involved in community groups?
 - What groups are you aware of that operate at a community level?
 - Is it safe?
 - Experiences of crime
 - Past experiences
 - Impact of those experiences
 - Precautions taken
 - Layout of neighbourhood
 - What about the street layout?
 - Building design
 - Street lighting

- Use of public space?
- Feelings about the police
- How do others feel?
- What could be done to improve the situation?
- Is there anything that has been done or could be done that would make it a better community?
- What changes would need to happen that would make it a better community?

8. Vertical relations

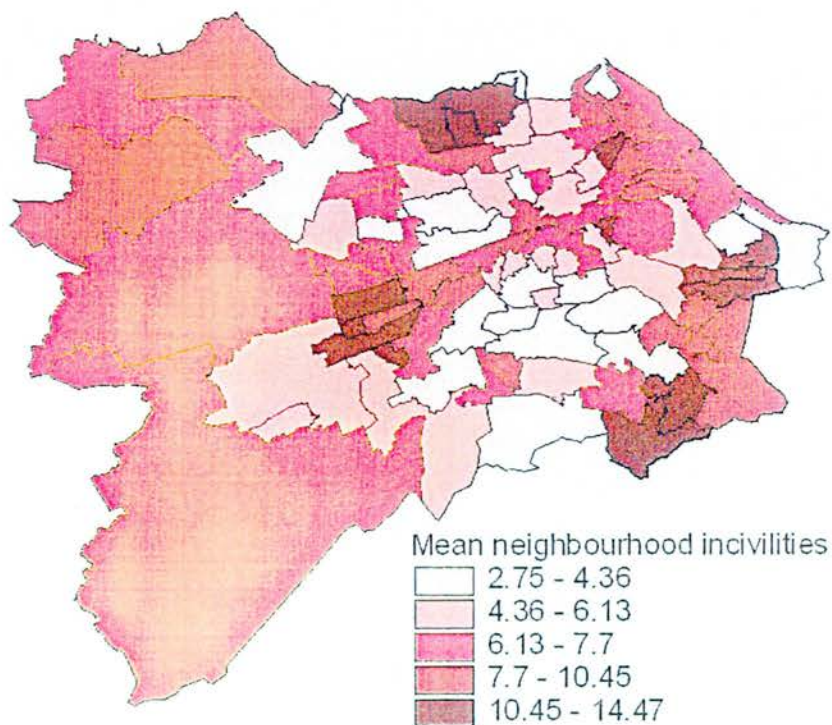
- How do you think your neighbourhood relates to the rest of the world?
- What sort of outside involvement is there in your area? – list...
- How do you feel about that?
- Would you change it in anyway?
- How do you feel the neighbourhood is perceived by other people?
 - Are they right?
 - How does that make you feel?

Appendix 5a



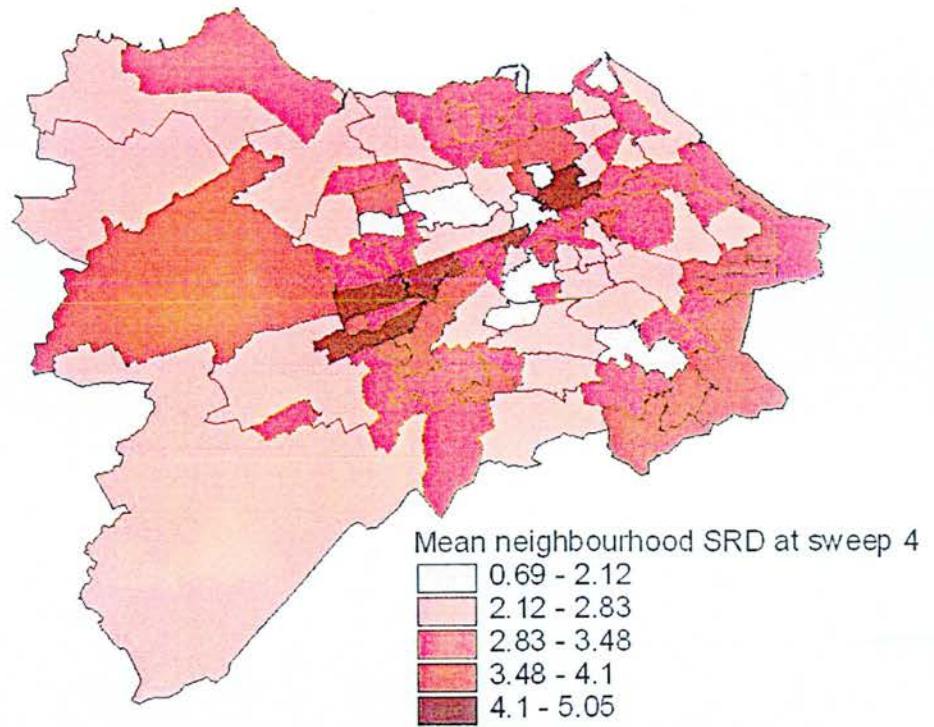
Index of deprivation across 91 Edinburgh Neighbourhoods

Appendix 5b



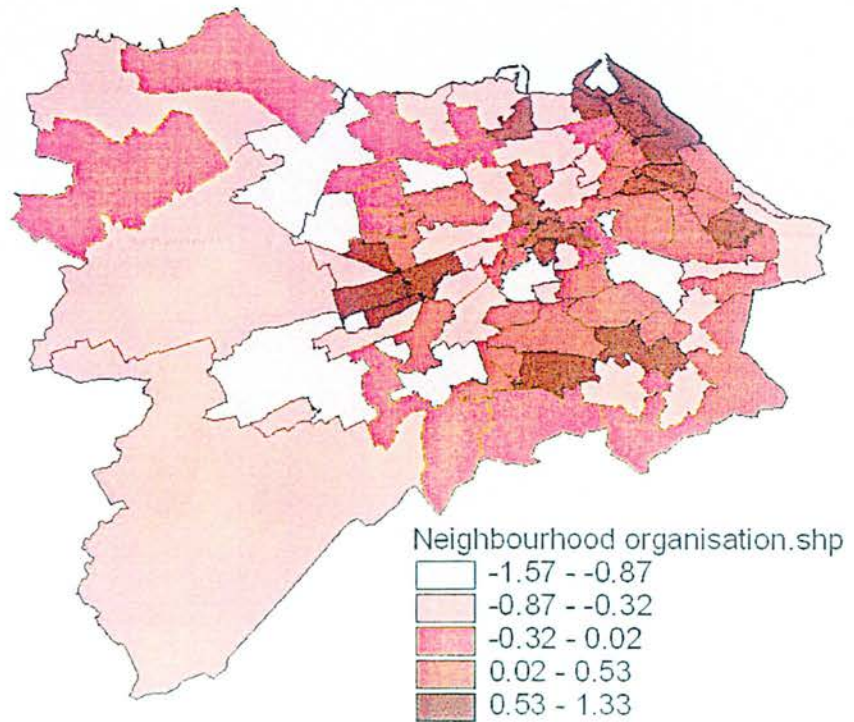
Incivilities across 91 Edinburgh Neighbourhoods

Appendix 5c



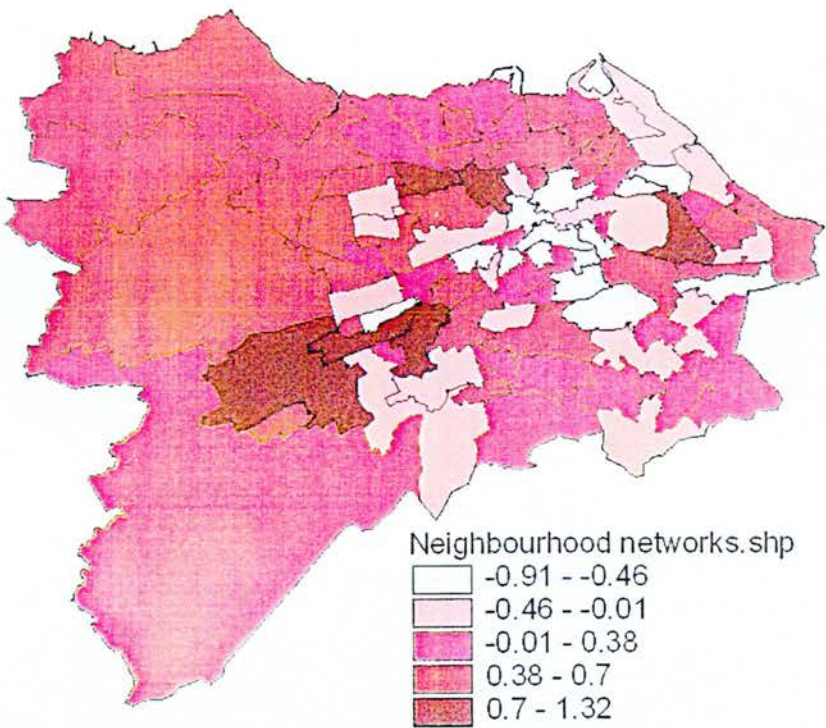
Self reported delinquency across 91 Edinburgh Neighbourhoods

Appendix 5d



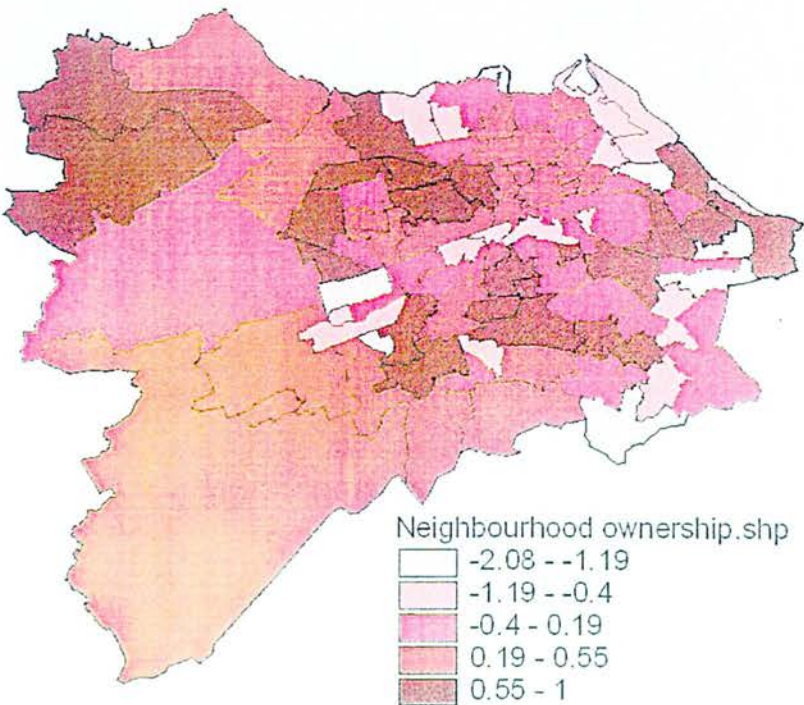
Neighbourhood Organisation across 91 Edinburgh Neighbourhoods

Appendix 5e



Neighbourhood Networks across 91 Edinburgh Neighbourhoods

Appendix 5f



Neighbourhood Ownership across 91 Edinburgh Neighbourhoods